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H I S T O R Y
OF THE
UNITED STATES,

FROM THE

DISCOVERY OF THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

BY GEORGE BANCROFT.

VOLUME I.

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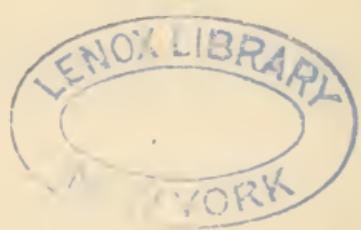
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P R E F A C E.

I HAVE formed the design of writing a History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent to the present time. As the moment arrives for publishing a portion of the work, I am impressed more strongly than ever with a sense of the grandeur and vastness of the subject; and am ready to charge myself with presumption for venturing on so bold an enterprise. I can find for myself no excuse but in the sincerity with which I have sought to collect truth from trust-worthy documents and testimony. I have desired to give to the work the interest of authenticity. I have applied, as I have proceeded, the principles of historical scepticism; and, not allowing myself to grow weary in comparing witnesses, or consulting codes of laws, I have endeavoured to impart originality to my narrative, by deriving it from writings and sources which were the contemporaries of the events that are described. Where different nations or different parties have been engaged in the same scenes, I have not failed to examine their respective reports. Such an investigation on any country would be laborious; I need not say how much the labour is increased by the

extent of our republic, the differences in the origin and early government of its component parts, and the multiplicity of topics which require to be discussed and arranged.

Much error had become incorporated with American history. Many of the early writers in Europe were only careful to explain the physical qualities of the country; and the political institutions of dependent colonies were not thought worthy of exact inquiry. The early history was often written with a carelessness which seized on rumours and vague recollections as sufficient authority for an assertion which satisfied prejudice by wanton perversions, and which, where materials were not at hand, substituted the inferences of the writer for authenticated facts. These early books have ever since been cited as authorities, and the errors, sometimes repeated even by considerate writers, whose distrust was not excited, have almost acquired a prescriptive right to a place in the annals of America. This state of things has increased the difficulty of my undertaking, and, I believe, also, its utility; and I cannot regret the labour which has enabled me to present, under a somewhat new aspect, the early love of liberty in Virginia; the causes and nature of its loyalty; its commercial freedom; the colonial policy of Cromwell; the independent spirit of Maryland; the early institutions of Rhode Island; and the stern independence of the New England Puritans. On these and other points, on which I have differed from received accounts, I appeal with confidence to the judgment of those who are critically acquainted with the sources of our early history.

I have dwelt at considerable length on this first period, because it contains the germ of our institutions. The maturity of the nation is but a continuation of its youth. The spirit of the colonies demanded freedom from the beginning. It was in this period, that Virginia first asserted the doctrine of popular sovereignty ; that the people of Maryland constituted their own government ; that New Plymouth, Connecticut, New Haven, New Hampshire, Maine, rested their legislation on the popular will ; that Massachusetts declared itself a perfect commonwealth.

In the progress of the work, I have been most liberally aided by the directors of our chief public libraries ; especially the library at Cambridge, on American history the richest in the world, has been opened to me as freely as if it had been my own.

The arrangement of the materials has been not the least difficult part of my labour. A few topics have been anticipated ; a few reserved for an opportunity where they can be more successfully grouped with other incidents. To give unity to the account of New Belgium, I reserve the subject for the next volume.

For the work which I have undertaken will necessarily extend to several volumes. I aim at being concise ; but also at giving a full picture of the progress of American institutions. The first volume is now published separately ; and for a double motive. The work has already occasioned long preparation, and its completion will require further years of exertion ; I have been unwilling to travel so long a journey alone ; and desire, as I proceed, to correct my own judgment by the criticisms of candour.

I have thought that the public would recognise the sincerity of my inquiries, and that, in those states where the materials of history have as yet been less carefully collected, and less critically compared, I should make for myself friends disposed to assist in placing within my reach the sources of information which are essential to success.

HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

INTRODUCTION.

THE United States of America constitute an essential portion of a great political system, embracing all the civilized nations of the earth. At a period when the force of moral opinion is rapidly increasing, they have the precedence in the practice and the defence of the equal rights of man. The sovereignty of the people is here a conceded axiom, and the laws, established upon that basis, are cherished with faithful patriotism. While the nations of Europe aspire after change, our constitution engages the fond admiration of the people, by which it has been established. Prosperity follows the execution of even justice ; invention is quickened by the freedom of competition ; and labour rewarded with sure and unexampled returns. Domestic peace is maintained without the aid of a military establishment ; public sentiment permits the existence of but few standing troops, and those only along the seaboard and on the frontiers. A gallant navy protects our commerce, which spreads its banners on every sea, and extends its enterprise to every clime. Our diplomatic relations connect us on terms of equality and honest friendship with the chief powers of the world ; while we avoid entangling participation in their intrigues, their passions, and their wars. Our national resources are developed by an earnest

culture of the arts of peace. Every man may enjoy the fruits of his industry ; every mind is free to publish its convictions. Our government, by its organization, is necessarily identified with the interests of the people, and relies exclusively on their attachment for its durability and support. Even the enemies of the state, if there are any among us, have liberty to express their opinions undisturbed ; and are safely tolerated, where reason is left free to combat their errors. Nor is the constitution a dead letter, unalterably fixed ; it has the capacity for improvement ; adopting whatever changes time and the public will may require, and safe from decay, so long as that will retains its energy. New states are forming in the wilderness ; canals, intersecting our plains and crossing our highlands, open numerous channels to internal commerce ; manufactures prosper along our water-courses ; the use of steam on our rivers and railroads annihilates distance by the acceleration of speed. Our wealth and population, already giving us a place in the first rank of nations, are so rapidly cumulative, that the former is increased four-fold, and the latter is doubled in every period of twenty-two or twenty-three years. There is no national debt ; the community is opulent ; the government economical ; and the public treasury full. Religion, neither persecuted nor paid by the state, is sustained by the regard for public morals and the convictions of an enlightened faith. Intelligence is diffused with unparalleled universality ; a free press teems with the choicest productions of all nations and ages. There are more daily journals in the United States than in the world beside. A public document of general interest is, within a month, reproduced in at least a million of copies, and is brought within the reach of every freeman in the country. An immense concourse of emigrants of the most various lineage is perpetually crowding to our shores ; and the principles of liberty, uniting all interests by the operation of equal laws, blend the discordant elements into harmonious union. Other governments are convulsed by the innovations and reforms of neighbouring states ; our constitution, fixed in the affections of the people, from whose choice it has sprung, neutralizes the influence of foreign principles, and fearlessly opens an asylum to the virtuous, the unfortunate, and the oppressed of every nation.

And yet it is but little more than two centuries since

the oldest of our states received its first permanent colony. Before that time the whole territory was an unproductive waste. Throughout its wide extent the arts had not erected a monument. Its only inhabitants were a few scattered tribes of feeble barbarians, destitute of commerce and of political connection. The axe and the ploughshare were unknown. The soil, which had been gathering fertility from the repose of centuries, was lavishing its strength in magnificent but useless vegetation. In the view of civilization the immense domain was a solitude.

It is the object of the present work to explain how the change in the condition of our land has been accomplished ; and, as the fortunes of a nation are not under the control of blind destiny, to follow the steps by which a favouring Providence, calling our institutions into being, has conducted the country to its present happiness and glory.

COLONIAL HISTORY.

CHAPTER I.

EARLY VOYAGES.—FRENCH SETTLEMENTS.

THE enterprise of Columbus, the most memorable maritime enterprise in the history of the world,¹⁴⁹² formed between Europe and America the communication which will never cease. The national pride of an Icelandic historian has indeed claimed for his ancestors the glory of having discovered the western hemisphere.

¹⁰⁰⁰ It is said that they passed from their own island to or Greenland, and were driven by adverse winds from ¹⁰⁰³ Greenland to the shores of Labrador ; that the voyage was often repeated ; that the coasts of America were extensively explored, and colonies established on the shores of Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. It is even suggested that these early adventurers anchored near the harbour of Boston, or in the bays of New Jersey ; and Danish antiquaries believe that Northmen entered the waters of Rhode Island, inscribed their adventures on the rocks of Taunton River, gave the name of Vinland to the south-east coasts of New England, and explored the inlets of our country as far as Carolina. But the story of the colonization of America by Northmen rests on narratives mythological in form and obscure in meaning ; ancient, yet not contemporary. The chief document is an interpolation in the history of Sturleson, whose zealous curiosity could hardly have neglected the discovery of a continent.⁽¹⁾ The geographical details are too vague to

(1) *Antiquitates Americanæ, Hafniæ, 1837.* The chief work. Schöning's ed. of Sturleson, i. 304—325. *Thorfæus, Winlandia Antiqua.* A. de Humboldt, *Examen Critique*, ii. 124, &c. Of American writers, Wheaton's *Northmen*, 22—28 ; Belknap's *Amer. Biog.* i. 47—58 ; Moulton's *New York*, i. 110—125 ; Irving's *Columbus*, iii. 292—300 ; E. Everett, in *N. A. Review*, xlvi. 161—203.

sustain a conjecture ; the accounts of the mild winter and fertile soil are, on any modern hypothesis, fictitious or exaggerated ; the description of the natives applies only to the Esquimaux, inhabitants of hyperborean regions ; the remark which should define the length of the shortest winters day has received interpretations adapted to every latitude from New York to Cape Farewell ; and Vinland has been sought in all directions, from Greenland and the St. Lawrence to Africa.(1) The nation of intrepid mariners, whose voyages extended beyond Iceland and beyond Sicily, could easily have sailed from Greenland to Labrador ; no clear historic evidence establishes the natural probability that they accomplished the passage.

Imagination had conceived the idea, that vast inhabited regions lay unexplored in the west ; and poets had declared that empires beyond the ocean would one day be revealed to the daring navigator.(2) But Columbus deserves the 1492. undivided glory of having realised that belief. During his lifetime he met with no adequate recompense. The self-love of the Spanish monarch was offended at receiving from a foreigner in his employ benefits too vast for requital ; and the contemporaries of the great navigator persecuted the merit which they could not adequately reward. Nor had posterity been mindful to gather into a finished picture the memorials of his career, till the genius of Irving, with candour, liberality, and original research, made a record of his eventful life, and in mild but enduring colours sketched his sombre inflexibility of purpose, his deep religious enthusiasm, and the disinterested magnanimity of his character.

Columbus was a native of Genoa. The commerce of the middle ages, conducted chiefly upon the Mediterranean Sea, had enriched the Italian republics, and had been chiefly engrossed by their citizens. The path for enterprise now lay across the ocean. The states which bordered upon the Atlantic, Spain, Portugal, and England, became competitors for the possession of the New World, and the control of the traffic which its discovery was to call into being ; but the nation which, by long and successful experience, had become deservedly celebrated for its skill in navigation, continued for a season to furnish the most able maritime commanders. Italians had the glory of making

(1) *Antiq. Americanæ*, 289, 291, 296.

(2) Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*, ii. 117. Pulci, c. xxv. st. 229—232.

the discoveries, from which Italy derived no accessions of wealth or power.

In the new career of western adventure, the American continent was first discovered under the auspices of 1497. the English, and the coast of the United States by a native (1) of England. In the history of maritime enterprise in the New World, the achievements of John and Sebastian Cabot are, in boldness, success, and results, second only to those of Columbus. The wars of the houses of York and Lancaster had ceased ; tranquillity and thrifty industry had been restored by the prudent severity of Henry VII. ; the spirit of commercial activity began to be successfully fostered ; and the marts of 1496. England were thronged with Lombard adventurers. The fisheries of the north had long tempted the merchants of Bristol to an intercourse with Iceland ; (2) and the nautical skill necessary to buffet the storms of the Atlantic, had been acquired in this branch of northern commerce. Nor is it impossible that some uncertain traditions respecting the remote discoveries which Icelanders had made in Greenland towards the north-west, "where the lands (3) did nearest meet," should have excited "firm and pregnant conjectures." The magnificent achievement of Columbus, revealing the wonderful truth, of which the germs may have existed in the imagination of every thoughtful mariner, won the admiration which was due to an enterprise that seemed more divine than human, and kindled in the breasts of the emulous a vehement desire to gain as signal (4) renown in the same career of daring ; while the politic king of England desired to share in the large returns which were promised by maritime adventure. It was, therefore, not difficult for John Cabot, a Venetian merchant residing at Bristol, to engage Henry VII. in plans for discovery. He obtained from that monarch a patent,(5) empowering himself and his three sons, or either of them, their heirs, or their deputies, to sail into

(1) History of the Travayles in the East and West Indies, by R. Eden and R. Willes, 1577, fol. 267, "Sebastian Cabot tolde me, that he was borne in Brystow," &c.

(2) Selden, Mare Clausum, b. ii. c. 32.

(3) Bacon's Hist. of Henry VII.

(4) Conversation respecting Seb. Cabot, reported in Ramusio, *Discorso sopra li Viaggi delle Spetierie*, i. fol. 402, ed. 1554. Hak. iii. 28. Hakluyt's reference to Ramusio is wrong. The passage from Ramusio is also in Eden's *Travayles*, ed. 1577, fol. 267.—De Thou, Hist. l. xliv.

(5) See the patent in Hakluyt, iii. 25, 26 ; Chalmers's *Polit. Annals*, 7, 8 ; Hazard's *Hist. Coll.* i. 9.

the eastern, western, or northern sea, with a fleet of five ships, at their own proper expense and charges, to search for islands, countries, provinces, or regions, hitherto unseen by Christian people ; to affix the banners of England on any city, island, or continent, that they might find ; and, as vassals of the English crown, to possess and occupy the territories that might be discovered. It was further stipulated in this "most ancient American state paper of England,"⁽¹⁾ that the patentees should be strictly bound in their voyages to land at the port of Bristol, and to pay to the king one-fifth part of the emoluments of the navigation ; while the exclusive right of frequenting all the countries that might be found was reserved, unconditionally and without limit of time, to the family of the Cabots and their assigns. Under this patent, containing the worst features of colonial monopoly and commercial restriction, John Cabot⁽²⁾ and his celebrated son Sebastian embarked for the west. Of what tempests they encountered, what mutinies they calmed, no record has been preserved. The discovery of the American continent,⁽³⁾ probably in the latitude of 56 degrees, far, therefore, to the north^{1497.} of the Straits of Belle Isle, among the Polar bears, the rude savages, and the dismal cliffs of Labrador, was the fruit of the voyage.

It has been attempted to deprive the father of the glory of having led the expedition. The surest documentary evidence confirms his claims. He and his son Sebastian first approached the continent, which no European had dared to visit, or had known to exist. The navigators hastened homewards to announce their success. Thus the discovery of our continent was an exploit of private mercantile adventure ; and the possession of the new-found "land and isles" was a right vested by an exclusive patent in the family of a Bristol merchant. Yet the Cabots derived little benefit from the expedition, which their genius had suggested, and of which they alone had defrayed the expense. Posterity hardly remembered, that they had reached the American continent nearly fourteen

⁽¹⁾ Chalmers, 7.

⁽²⁾ Second patent to John Cabot, of Feb: 3, 1498, first printed in R. Biddle's Memoir of Sebastian Cabot, 75. The extract from the map of Sebastian Cabot is equally explicit. Hakluyt, iii. 27.

⁽³⁾ Extract from Cabot's map, in Hakluyt, i. 27. Ramusio sopra li viaggi, &c. i. fol. 402. The map of Ortelius, in his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*, gives the Island St. John in latitude 56 degrees. The work of Ortelius, in the editions of 1584 and of 1592, is at Cambridge.

months before Columbus, on his third voyage, came 1498. in sight of the main land; and almost two years 1499. before Amerigo Vespucci sailed west of the Canaries. But England acquired through their energy such a right to North America, as this indisputable priority could confer. Henry VII. and his successors recognized the claims of Spain and Portugal, only so far as they actually occupied the territories to which they laid pretension; and, at a later date, the English parliament and the English courts derided a title, founded, not upon occupancy, but upon a grant from the Roman pontiff.(1)

Confidence and zeal awakened; and Henry grew 1498. circumspect in the concession of rights, which now seemed about to become of immense value. A new patent(2) was issued to John Cabot, less ample in the privileges which it conferred; and his son Sebastian, a native of Bristol, a youthful adventurer of great benevolence and courtesy, daring in conception and patient in execution, a man whose active mind for more than half a century was employed in guiding the commercial enterprise which the nations of the west were developing, and whose extraordinary merits have been recently vindicated with ingenious and successful diligence, pursued the paths of discovery which he, with his father, had opened. A voyage was again undertaken; purposes of traffic were connected with it; and the frugal king was himself a partner(3) in the expenditure. The object of this new expedition was, in part, to explore "what manner of landes(4) those Indies were to inhabit:" and perhaps, also, a hope was entertained of reaching the rich empire of Cathay. Embarking in May, Sebastian Cabot, with a company of three hundred men, sailed for Labrador, by way of Iceland, and reached the continent in the latitude of fifty-eight degrees. The severity of the cold, the strangeness of the unknown land, and his declared pur-

(1) Debates of the House of Commons, 1620 and 1621, i. 250, 251.

(2) Stow's Chronicle, 1498, in Hakluyt, iii. 30, 31. Memoir of Cabot, 75 and 80—86.

(3) Memoir of Seb. Cabot, 85.

(4) Peter Martyr, of Anghiera, d. iii. l. vi. Also in Eden, fol. 124, 125, and in Hakluyt, v. 283, and Hakluyt, iii. 29, 30. Gomara, *Historia de las Indias*, c. xxxix. The passage is quoted in Eden and Willes, fol. 228, and less perfectly in Hakluyt, iii. 30. Herrera, d. i. l. vi. c. xvi. is confused. Compare also the conversation in Ramusio, where we must suppose that the narrator confounds this with the preceding voyage. Ramusio, i. fol. 403, or Eden and Willes, fol. 267. I am indebted for the use of Ramusio, and of many other valuable works, to E. Everett, of Charlestown.

pose of exploring the country, induced him to turn to the south; and, having proceeded along the shores of the United States to the southern boundary of Maryland,(1) or perhaps to the latitude of Albemarle Sound,(2) want of provisions hastened his return to England.

Curiosity desires to trace the further career of the great seaman, who, with his father, gave a continent to England. The maps which he sketched of his discoveries, and the accounts which he wrote of his adventures, have perished, and the history of the next years of his life is involved in obscurity. Yet it does not admit of a reasonable doubt, that, perhaps in 1517,(3) after he had been in the employment of Ferdinand of Spain, and before he received the appointment of Pilot-Major from Charles V., he sailed once more from England to discover the North-Western passage. The testimony respecting this expedition is confused and difficult of explanation; the circumstances which attended it are variously related, and are assigned to other and earlier voyages. A connected and probable account can be given only by comparing the evidence, and extracting the several incidents from different and contradictory narratives. Yet the main fact is indisputable; Sebastian Cabot passed through the straits and entered the bay,(4) which, after the lapse of nearly a century, took their name from Hudson. He himself wrote a "discourse of navigation," in which the entrance of the strait was laid down with great precision "on a card, drawn by his own hand."(5) He boldly prosecuted his design, making his way through regions, into which it was, long afterwards, esteemed an act of the most intrepid maritime adventure to penetrate, till, on June the eleventh, as we are informed from a letter written by the navigator himself, he had attained the altitude of sixty-seven and a half

(1) Gomara. *Treinta i ocho Grados.*

(2) Peter Martyr. *Ut Herculei freti latitudinis fere gradus equarit, &c.*

(3) See Eden, in Mem. of Cabot, 102, and Thorne's letter, ib. 103. Compare chaps. xiii. xiv. and xv. of the Memoir. The account in Hakluyt, iii. 591, 592, may give the date of the voyage correctly; but then there must be a gross mistake as to its destination. Peter Martyr, d. iii. c. v. merits regard. *Expectat indies, ut navigia sibi parentur, quibus arcanum hoc naturae latens jam tandem detegatur. Martis mense anni futuri MDXVI. puto ad explorandum discessurum.* Failing to sail from Spain, Cabot went to England.

(4) Anderson was the first of the later writers to mention the fact. History of Commerce, An. 1496.

(5) Ortelius, Map of America in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum*. Eden and Willes, fol. 223. Sir H. Gilbert, in Hakluyt, iii. 49, 50.

degrees,(1) ever in the hope of finding a passage into the Indian ocean. The sea was still open ; but the cowardice of a naval officer, and the mutiny of the mariners, compelled him to return, though his own confidence in the possibility of effecting the passage remained unimpaired.

The career of Sebastian Cabot was in the issue as honourable, as it had in the opening been glorious. He conciliated universal regard by the placid mildness of his character. Without the stern enthusiasm of Columbus, he was distinguished by serene contentment. For nearly sixty years, during a period when marine adventure engaged the most intense public curiosity, he was revered for his achievements and his skill. He had attended the congress,(2) which assembled at Badajoz to divide the islands of the Moluccas between Portugal and Spain ; 1526. he subsequently sailed to South America, under the auspices of Charles V., though not with entire success.(3) On his return to his native land, he advanced the commerce of England by opposing a mercantile monopoly, and was pensioned and rewarded for his merits as the Great Seaman.(4) It was he who framed the instruc- 1549. tions for the expedition which discovered the passage to Archangel.(5) He lived to an extreme old age ; and so loved his profession to the last, that in the hour of 1553. death his wandering thoughts were upon the ocean.(6) The discoverer of the territory of our country was one of the most extraordinary men of his age : there is deep cause for regret, that time has spared so few memorials of his career. Himself incapable of jealousy, he did not escape detraction.(7) He gave England a continent, and no one knows his burial-place.

It was after long solicitations, that Columbus had obtained the opportunity of discovery. Upon the certainty of success, a throng of adventurers eagerly engaged in voyages, to explore the New World, or to plunder its inhabitants. The king of Portugal, grieved at having

(1) *Discorso del Ramusio sopra il terzo volume, &c.*

(2) *Eden's Travayles*, fol. 449.

(3) *Eden's Travayles*, fol. 226. *Herrera*, d. iii. l. ix. c. iii. Compare *Herrera*, d. iii. l. x. c. i. near the close of the chapter. The Spaniard praises but sparingly the great navigator who had rendered more important services to England than to Spain.

(4) *Hazard*, i. 23. *Memoir of Cabot*, 185.

(5) *Hakluyt*, i. 251—255. *Purchas's Pilgrims*, i. 915.

(6) *Memoir of Cabot*, 219.

(7) *Peter Martyr*, d. iii. l. vi. ; in *Eden*, fol. 125.

neglected Columbus, readily favoured an expedition for 1500. northern discovery. Gaspard Cortereal⁽¹⁾ was appointed commander of the enterprise. He reached the shores of North America, ranged the coast for a distance of six or seven hundred miles, and carefully observed the country and its inhabitants. The most northern point⁽²⁾ which he attained was probably about the fiftieth degree. Of the country along which he sailed, he had occasion to admire the brilliant freshness of the verdure, and the density of the stately forests. The pines, well adapted for masts and yards, promised to become an object of gainful commerce. But men were already with the Portuguese an established article of traffic ; the inhabitants of the American coast seemed well fitted for labour ; and Cortereal freighted his ships with more than fifty Indians, whom, on his return, he sold as slaves. It was soon resolved to renew the expedition ; but the adventurer never returned. His death was ascribed to a combat with the natives, whom he desired to kidnap ; the name of Labrador, transferred to a more northern coast, is, probably, a memorial of his crime ;⁽³⁾ and is, perhaps, the only permanent trace of Portuguese adventure within the limits of North America.

The French entered without delay into the competition for 1504. the commerce and the soil of America. Within seven years of the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy mariners of Brittany and Normandy.⁽⁴⁾ The island of Cape Breton acquired its name from their remembrance of home, and in France it was usual to esteem them the discoverers of 1506. the country.⁽⁵⁾ A map of the Gulf of Saint Lawrence was drawn by Denys,⁽⁶⁾ a citizen of Honfleur ; and the fishermen of the north-west of France derived wealth

(1) See the leading document on the voyage of Cortereal, in a letter from Pietro Pasqualigo, Venetian ambassador in Portugal, written to his brother, October 19, 1501, in *Paesi novamente ritrovati et Novo Mondo da Alberico Vesputio Florentino intitulato*. L. vi. c. cxxv. The original and the French translation are both in the library of Harvard College.

(2) Herrera, d. i. l. vi. c. xvi. Gomara, c. xxxvii. Also in Eilen, fol. 227. Galvano, in Hakluyt, iv. 419. Purchas, i. 915, 916. Memoir of Cabot, b. ii. c. iii. and iv.

(3) Memoir of Cabot, 242. Navarette, *Viages Menores*, iii. 43, 44.

(4) Charlevoix, *Hist. Gen. de la Nouv. Fr.* i. 3, edition of 1744, 4to.; Champlain's *Voyages*, i. 9. Navarette, &c. iii. 176—180, argues against the statement in the text. Compare Memoir of Cabot, 316.

(5) Verrazzani, in Hakluyt, iii. 363.

(6) Charlevoix, i. 3. and 4. *Mémoire sur les Limites de l'Acadie*, 104—a good historic outline.

from the regions, which, it was reluctantly confessed, had been first visited by the Cabots.

The fisheries had for some years been successfully pursued ; savages from the north-eastern coast had been brought to France ; (1) plans of colonization in North America had been suggested by De Lery and Saint Just ; (2) when at length Francis I., a monarch who had invited Da Vinci and Cellini to transplant the fine arts into his kingdom, employed John Verrazzani, another Florentine, to explore the new regions, which had alike excited curiosity and hope. It was by way of the isle of Madeira, that the Italian, parting from a fleet which had cruised successfully along the shores of Spain, sailed for America, (3) with a single caravel, resolute to make discovery of new countries. The *Dolphin*, though it had “the good hap of a fortunate name,” was overtaken by as terrible a tempest as mariners ever encountered ; and fifty days elapsed before the continent appeared in view. At length, in the latitude of Wilmington, (4) Verrazzani could congratulate himself on beholding land which had never been seen by any European. But no convenient harbour was found, though the search extended fifty leagues to the south. Returning towards the north, he cast anchor on the coast ; all the shore was shoal, but free from rocks, and covered with fine sand ; the country was flat. It was the coast of North Carolina. Mutual was the wonder of the inquisitive foreigners, and the mild and feeble natives. The russet colour of the Indians seemed like the complexion of the Saracens ; their dress was of skins ; their ornaments garlands of feathers. They welcomed with hospitality the strangers whom they had not yet learned to fear. As the *Dolphin* ploughed its way to the north, the country seemed more inviting ; it was thought that imagination could not conceive of more delightful fields and forests ; the groves, redolent with fragrance, spread their perfumes far from the shore, and gave promise of the spices of the East. The mania of the times raged among the crew ; in their eyes the colour of

(1) Charlevoix, N. F. i. 4.

(2) L'Escarbot, 21. Mémoire, &c. 104.

(3) See Verrazzani's letter to Francis I. from Dieppe, July 8, 1524, in Hakluyt, iii. 357—364, or in N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 45—60. It is also in Ramusio. Compare Charlevoix, N. F. i. 5—8.

(4) S. Miller, in N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 23. In the Libreria Stroziana in Florence, there is a copious manuscript account of Verrazzani's voyage and discoveries. Tiraboschi, vii. 261, 262.

the earth argued an abundance of gold. The savages were more humane than their guests. A young sailor, who had nearly been drowned, was revived by the courtesy of the natives ; the voyagers robbed a mother of her child, and attempted to kidnap a young woman. Such crimes can be prompted even by the feeble passion of curiosity, and the desire to gratify a vulgar wonder.

The harbour of New York especially attracted notice, for its great convenience and pleasantness ; the eyes of the covetous could discern mineral wealth in the hills of New Jersey.(1)

In the spacious haven of Newport, Verrazzani remained for fifteen days. The natives were "the goodliest people" that he had found in the whole voyage. They were liberal and friendly ; yet so ignorant, that, though instruments of steel and iron were often exhibited, they did not form a conception of their use, nor learn to covet their possession.(2)

Leaving the waters of Rhode Island, the persevering mariner sailed along the whole coast of New England to Nova Scotia, till he approached the latitude of fifty degrees. The natives of the more northern region were hostile and jealous ; it was impossible to conciliate their confidence ; they were willing to traffic, for they had learned the use of iron ; but in their exchanges they demanded knives and weapons of steel. Perhaps this coast had been visited for slaves ; its inhabitants had become wise enough to dread the vices of Europeans.

In July Verrazzani was once more in France. His own narrative of the voyage is the earliest original account, now extant, of the coast of the United States. He advanced the knowledge of the country ; and he gave to France some claim to an extensive territory, on the pretext of discovery.(3)

The historians of maritime adventure agree, that Verrazzani again embarked upon an expedition, from which, 1525. it is usually added, he never returned. Did he sail once more under the auspices of France ?(4) When the monarch had just lost every thing but honour in the disastrous

(1) Hakluyt, iii. 360, 361. N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 52, 53. Moulton's New York, i. 138, 139.

(2) Hakluyt, iii. 361. Moulton's New York, i. 147, 148. Miller, in N. Y. Hist. Coll. i. 25. Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 33.

(3) Chalmers's Annals, 512. Harris's Voyages, ii. 348, 349.

(4) Charlevoix, Nouv. Fr. i. 7, 8.

battle of Pavia, is it probable that the impoverished government could have sent forth another expedition? Did he relinquish the service of France for that of England? It is hardly a safe conjecture that he was 1527. murdered in an encounter with savages, while on a voyage of discovery which Henry VIII. had favoured.(1) Hakluyt asserts that Verrazzani was thrice on the coast of America, and that he gave a map of it to the English monarch.(2) It is the common tradition that he perished at sea, having been engaged in an expedition of which no tidings were ever heard. Such a report might easily be spread respecting a great navigator who had disappeared from the public view; and the rumour might be adopted by an incautious historian. It is probable that Verrazzani had only retired from the fatigues of the life of a mariner; and, while others believed him buried in the ocean, he may 1537. have long enjoyed at Rome the friendship of men of letters, with the delights of tranquil employment.(3) Yet such is the obscurity of the accounts respecting his life, that certainty cannot be established.(4)

But the misfortunes of the French monarchy did 1527, not affect the industry of its fishermen, who, amidst the miseries of France, still resorted to Newfoundland. There exists a letter(5) to Henry VIII., from the haven of St. John, in Newfoundland, written by an English captain, in which he declares, he found in that one harbour eleven sail of Normans and one Breton, engaged in the fishery. The French king, engrossed by the passionate and unsuccessful rivalry with Charles V., could hardly respect so humble an interest. But Chabot, admiral of France,(6) a man of bravery and influence, acquainted by his office with the fishermen, on whose vessels he levied some small exactions for his private emolument, interested Francis in 1534. the design of exploring and colonizing the New World. James Cartier, a mariner of St. Malo, was selected to lead the expedition.(7) His several voyages are of great moment; for they had a permanent effect in guiding

(1) Memoir of S. Cabot, 271—276.

(2) Hakl. Divers Voyages, 1582, quoted in Mem. of Cabot, p. 272.

(3) See Annibale Caro, Lettere Familiari, tom. i. let. 12.

(4) Tiraboschi, vii. 263, ed. 1809. Compare, also, *Ensayo Cronologico à la Historia de la Florida, Anno MDXXIV.*

(5) Rut, in Purchas, iii. 809.

(6) Charlevoix, Nouv. Fr. i. 8.

(7) See Cartier's account in Hakluyt, iii. 250—262. Compare Charlevoix, N. F. i. 8, 9; Purchas, i. 931; Ibid. iv. 1605; Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 161—163.

the attention of France to the region of the St. Lawrence. It was in April that the mariner, with two ships, left the harbour of St. Malo, and prosperous weather brought him in twenty days upon the coasts of Newfoundland. Having almost circumnavigated the island, he turned to the south, and, crossing the gulf, entered the bay, which he called Des Chaleurs, from the intense heats of midsummer. Finding no passage to the west, he sailed along the coast, as far as the smaller inlet of Gaspé. There, upon a point of land, at the entrance of the haven, a lofty cross was raised, bearing a shield, with the lilies of France, and an appropriate inscription. Henceforth the soil was to be esteemed a part of the dominions of the French king. Leaving the Bay of Gaspé, Cartier discovered the great river of Canada, and sailed up its channel till he could discern land on either side. As he was unprepared to remain during the winter, it then became necessary to return; the fleet weighed anchor for Europe, and in less than thirty days⁽¹⁾ entered the harbour of St. Malo in security. His native city and France were filled with the tidings of his discoveries. The voyage had been easy and successful. Even at this day the passage to and fro is not often made more rapidly or more safely.

Could a gallant nation, which was then ready to contend for power and honour with the united force of Austria and Spain, hesitate to pursue the career of discovery so prosperously opened? The court listened to the urgency of the friends of Cartier;⁽²⁾ a new commission was issued; three well-furnished ships were provided by the king; and some of the young nobility of France volunteered to join the new expedition. Solemn preparations were made for departure; religion prepared a splendid pageant previous to the embarkation; the whole company, repairing to the cathedral, received absolution and the bishop's blessing.^{1535.} The adventurers were eager to cross the Atlantic; and the squadron sailed⁽³⁾ for the New World, full

(1) Holmes's Annals, i. 65. "He returned in April." Not so. Compare Hakluyt, iii. 261, or Belknap, i. 163. The excellent annalist rarely is in error, even in minute particulars. He merits the gratitude of every student of American history. Purchas, i. 931, edition of 1617, says,— "Francis I. sent thither James Breton." This person can be no other than James Cartier, a Breton.

(2) Charlevoix, N. F. i. 9.

(3) See the original account of the voyage in Hakluyt, iii. 262—285. Compare Charlevoix, N. F. i. 8—15; Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 164—178. Purchas is less copious.

of hopes of discoveries and plans of colonization in the territory which now began to be known as New France.(1)

It was after a stormy voyage that they arrived within sight of Newfoundland. Passing to the west of that island on the day of St. Lawrence, they gave the name of that martyr to a portion of the noble gulf which opened before them; a name which has gradually extended to the whole gulf, and to the river. Sailing to the north of Anticosti, they ascended the stream in September, as far as a pleasant harbour in the isle, since called Orleans. The natives, Indians of Algonquin descent, received them with unsuspecting hospitality. Leaving his ships safely moored, Cartier, in a boat, sailed up the majestic stream to the chief Indian settlement on the island of Hochelaga. The language of its inhabitants proves them to have been of the Huron family of tribes.(2) The town lay at the foot of a hill, which he climbed. As he reached the summit, he was moved to admiration by the prospect before him of woods, and waters, and mountains. Imagination presented it as the future emporium of inland commerce, and the metropolis of a prosperous province; filled with bright anticipations, he called the hill Mont-Real,(3) and time, that has transferred the name to the island, is realizing his visions. Cartier also gathered of the Indians some indistinct account of the countries now contained in the north of Vermont and New York. Rejoining his ships, the winter, rendered frightful by the ravages of the scurvy, was passed where they were anchored. At the approach of spring a cross was solemnly erected upon land, and on it a shield was suspended, which bore the arms of France, and an inscription, declaring Francis to be the rightful king of these new-found regions. Having thus claimed possession of the territory, the Breton mariner once more regained St. Malo.

¹⁵³⁶⁻ The description which Cartier gave of the country ^{1540.} bordering on the St. Lawrence furnished arguments(4) against attempting a colony. The intense severity of the climate terrified even the inhabitants of the north of France; and no mines of silver and gold, no veins abounding in diamonds and precious stones, had been promised by the faithful narrative of the voyage.

(1) Hakluyt, iii. 285.

(2) Charlevoix, i. 12. Cass, in N. A. Rev. xxiv. 421.

(3) Hakluyt, iii. 272.

(4) Charlevoix, N. F. i. 20.

Three or four years, therefore, elapsed, before plans of colonization were renewed. Yet imagination did not fail to anticipate the establishment of a state upon the fertile banks of a river, which surpassed all the streams of Europe in grandeur, and flowed through a country situated between nearly the same parallels as France. Soon after a short peace had terminated the third desperate struggle between Francis I. and Charles V., attention to America was again awakened; there were not wanting men at court, who deemed it unworthy a gallant nation to abandon the enterprise; and a nobleman of Picardy, Francis de la Roque, lord of Roberval, a man of considerable provincial distinction, sought and obtained (1) a commission. It was easy to confer provinces and plant colonies upon parchment; Roberval could congratulate himself on being the acknowledged lord of the unknown Norimbega, and viceroy, with full regal authority, over the immense territories and islands which lie near the gulf or along the river St. Lawrence. But the ambitious nobleman could not dispense with the services of the former naval commander, who possessed the confidence of the king; and Cartier also received a commission. Its terms merit consideration. He was appointed captain-general and chief pilot of the expedition; he was directed to take with him persons of every trade and art; to repair to the newly-discovered territory; and to dwell there with the natives. But where were the honest tradesmen and industrious mechanics to be found, who would repair to this New World? The commission gave Cartier full authority to ransack the prisons: to rescue the unfortunate and the criminal; and to make up the complement of his men from their number. Thieves or homicides, the spendthrift or the fraudulent bankrupt, the debtors to justice or its victims, prisoners rightfully or wrongfully detained, excepting only those arrested for treason or counterfeiting money, these were the people by whom the colony was, in part, to be established.(2)

The division of authority between Cartier and ^{154.} Roberval of itself defeated the enterprise.(3) Roberval was ambitious of power; and Cartier desired the exclusive honour of discovery. They neither embarked

(1) Charlevoix, N. F. i. 20, 21. The account in Charlevoix needs to be corrected by the documents and original accounts in L'Escarbot and Hakluyt.

(2) Hazard, i. 19—21.

(3) Hakluyt, iii. 286—297.

in company, nor acted in concert. Cartier sailed (1) from St. Malo the next spring after the date of his commission ; he arrived at the scene of his former adventures, ascended the St. Lawrence, and, near the site of Quebec, built a fort for the security of his party ; (2) but no considerable advances in geographical knowledge appear to have been made. The winter passed in sullenness and gloom.

In June of the following year, he and his ships stole away and returned to France, just as Roberval arrived with a considerable reinforcement. Unsustained by Cartier, Roberval accomplished no more than a verification of previous discoveries. Remaining about a year in America, he abandoned his immense viceroyalty. Estates in Picardy were better than titles in Norimbega. His subjects must have been a sad company ; during the winter, one was hanged for theft ; several were put in irons ; and “ divers persons, as well women as men,” were whipped. By these means quiet was preserved. Perhaps the expedition on its return entered the Bay of Massachusetts ; the French diplomatists always remembered, that Boston was built within the original limits of New France.

The commission of Roberval was followed by no permanent results. It is confidently said, that, at a later date, he again embarked for his viceroyalty, accompanied by a numerous train of adventurers ; and, as he was never more heard of, he may have perished at sea.

Can it be a matter of surprise, that, for the next fifty years, no further discoveries were attempted by the government of a nation, which had become involved in the final struggle of feudalism against the central power of the monarch, of Calvinism against the ancient religion of France ? The colony of Huguenots at the South sprung from private enterprise ; a government which could devise the massacre of St. Bartholomew, as neither worthy nor able to found new states.

(1) Holmes, in Annals, i. 70, 71, places the departure of Cartier May 23, 1540. He follows, undoubtedly, the date in Hak. iii. 286 ; which is, however, a misprint, or an error. For, first, the patent of Cartier was not issued till October, 1540 ; next, the annalist can find no occupation for Cartier in Canada for one whole year ; and, further, it is undisputed, that Roberval did not sail till April, 1542 ; and it is expressly said in the account of Roberval's voyage, Hak. iii. 295, that “ Jaques Cartier and his company ” were “ sent with five sayles the yeere before.” Belknap makes a similar mistake, i. 178.

(2) Chalmers, 82, places this event in 1545, without reason.

At length, under the mild and tolerant reign of Henry IV., the star of France emerged from the clouds of blood, treachery, and civil war, which had so long eclipsed her glory. The number and importance of the fishing stages had increased; in 1578, there were one hundred and 1578. fifty French vessels at Newfoundland, and regular voyages for traffic with the natives, began to be successfully made. One French mariner, before 1609, had made more than forty voyages to the American coast. The purpose of founding a French empire in America 1598. was renewed, and an ample commission was issued to the Marquis de la Roche, a nobleman of Brittanny. Yet his enterprise entirely failed. Sweeping the prisons of France, he established their tenants on the desolate Isle of Sable; and the wretched exiles sighed for their dungeons. After some years, the few survivors received a pardon. The temporary residence in America was deemed a sufficient commutation for a long imprisonment.

The prospect of gain prompted the next enterprise. A monopoly of the fur-trade, with an ample patent, was obtained by Chauvin; and Pontgravé, a merchant of 1600. St. Malo, shared the traffic. The voyage was repeated, for it was lucrative. The death of Chauvin 1601- 1602. prevented his settling a colony.

A firmer hope of success was entertained, when a company of merchants of Rouen was formed by the governor of Dieppe; and Samuel Champlain, of Brouage, an able marine officer and a man of science, was appointed to direct the expedition. By his natural disposition, "delighting marvellously in these enterprises," Champlain became the father of the French settlements in Canada. He possessed a clear and penetrating understanding, with a spirit of cautious inquiry; untiring perseverance, with great mobility; indefatigable activity, with fearless courage. The account of his first expedition gives proof of sound judgment, accurate observation, and historical fidelity. It is full of exact details on the manners of the savage tribes, not less than the geography of the country; and Quebec was already selected as the appropriate site for a fort.

Champlain returned to France just before an exclusive patent had been issued to a Calvinist, the able, patriotic, and honest De Monts. The sovereignty of Acadia and its confines, from the fortieth to the forty-sixth degree of

latitude, that is, from Philadelphia to beyond Montreal; a still wider monopoly of the fur-trade; the exclusive control of the soil, government, and trade; freedom of religion for Huguenot emigrants,—these were the privileges which the charter conceded. Idlers, and men without a profession, and all banished men, were doomed to lend him aid. A lucrative monopoly was added to the honours of territorial jurisdiction. Wealth and glory were alike expected.

An expedition was prepared without delay, and left 1604. the shores of France, not to return till a permanent French settlement should be made in America. All New France was now contained in two ships, which followed the well-known path to Nova Scotia. The summer glided away, while the emigrants trafficed with the natives and explored the coasts. The harbour called Annapolis after the conquest of Acadia by Queen Anne, an excellent harbour, though difficult of access, possessing a small but navigable river, which abounded in fish, and is bordered by beautiful meadows, so pleased the imagination of Poutrincourt, a leader in the enterprise, that he sued for a grant of it from De Monts, and, naming it Port Royal, determined to reside there with his family. The company of De Monts made their first attempt at a settlement on the island of St. Croix, at the mouth of the river of the same name. The remains of their fortifications were 1798. still visible, when our eastern boundary was ascertained. Yet the island was so ill suited to their 1605. purposes, that, in the following spring, they removed to Port Royal.

For an agricultural colony, a milder climate was more desirable; in view of a settlement at the south, De Monts explored and claimed for France the rivers, the coasts and the bays of New England, as far, at least, as Cape Cod. The numbers and hostility of the savages led him to delay a removal, since his colonists were so few.

1606. Yet the purpose remained. Thrice, in the spring of the following year, did Dupont, his lieutenant, attempt to complete the discovery. Twice he was driven back by adverse winds; and at the third attempt, his vessel was wrecked. Poutrincourt, who had visited France, and was now returned with supplies, himself renewed the design; but, meeting with disasters among the shoals of Cape Cod, he, too, returned to Port Royal.

There the first French settlement on the American continent had been made ; two years before James River 1605. was discovered, and three years before a cabin had been raised in Canada.

The possessions of Poutrincourt were confirmed by 1607. Henry IV. ; the apostolic benediction of the Roman pontiff was solicited on families which exiled themselves to evangelize infidels ; Mary of Medici herself contributed money to support the missions, which the 1608. Marchioness de Guercheville protected ; and by a 1610. compact with De Biencourt, the proprietary's son, the order of the Jesuits was enriched by an imposition on the fisheries and fur-trade.

The arrival of Jesuit priests was signalized by conversions among the natives. In the following year, 1611. De Biencourt and Father Biart explored the coast as 1612. far as the Kennebec, and ascended that river. The Canibas, Algonquins of the Abenaki nations, touched by the confiding humanity of the French, listened reverently to the message of redemption ; and, already hostile towards the English who had visited their coast, the tribes between the Penobscot and the Kennebec became the allies of France, and were cherished as a barrier against danger from English encroachments.

A French colony within the United States followed, under the auspices of De Guercheville and 1613. Mary of Medici ; the rude intrenchments of St. Sauveur were raised by De Saussaye on the eastern shore of Mount Desert Isle. The conversion of the heathen was the motive to the settlement ; the natives venerated Biart as a messenger from heaven ; and under the summer sky, round a cross in the centre of the hamlet, matins and vespers were regularly chanted. France and the Roman religion had appropriated the soil of Maine.

Meantime the remonstrances of French merchants had effected the revocation of the monopoly of De Monts, and 1608. a company of merchants of Dieppe and St. Malo had founded Quebec. The design was executed by Champlain, who aimed not at the profits of trade, but at the glory of founding a state. The city of Quebec was begun ; that is to say, rude cottages were framed, a few fields were cleared, and one or two gardens planted. The next 1609. year, that singularly bold adventurer, attended but by two Europeans, joined a mixed party of Hurons from

Montreal, and Algonquins from Quebec, in an expedition against the Iroquois, or Five Nations, in the north of New York. He ascended the Sorel, and explored the lake which bears his name, and perpetuates his memory.

The Huguenots had been active in plans of colonization.

The death of Henry IV. deprived them of their powerful protector. Yet the zeal of De Monts survived, and he quickened the courage of Champlain.

After the short supremacy of Charles de Bourbon, the Prince of Condé, an avowed protector of the Calvinists, became viceroy of New France; through his intercession, merchants of St. Malo, Rouen, and La

Rochelle, obtained a colonial patent from the king; and Champlain, now sure of success, embarked once more for the New World, accompanied by monks of the order of St. Francis. Again he invades the territory of the Iroquois in New York. Wounded, and repulsed, and destitute of guides, he spends the first winter after his

return to America in the country of the Hurons; and a knight-errant among the forests carries his language, religion, and influence, even to the hamlets of Algonquins, near Lake Nipissing.

Religious disputes combined with commercial jealousies to check the progress of the colony; yet in the summer, when the pilgrims were leaving Leyden, in obedience to the wishes of the unhappy Montmorenci, the new viceroy, Champlin, began a fort. The merchants grudged the expense. "It is not best to yield to the passions of men," was his reply; "they sway but for a season; it is a duty to respect the future;" and in a few years the castle of St. Louis, so long the place of council against the Iroquois and against New England, was durably founded on "a commanding cliff."

In the same year, the viceroyalty was transferred to the religious enthusiast, Henry de Levi; and through his influence, in 1625, just a year after Jesuits had reached the sources of the Ganges and Thibet, the banks of the St. Lawrence received priests of the order, which was destined to carry the cross to Lake Superior and the West.

The presence of Jesuits and Calvinists led to dissensions. The savages caused disquiet. But the persevering founder of Quebec appealed to the Royal Council and to Richelieu; and though disasters intervened,

Champlain successfully established the authority of the French on the banks of the St. Lawrence, in the territory which became his country. "The father of New France" lies buried in the land which he colonized. Thus, the humble industry of the fishermen of Normandy and ^{1635.} Brittany promised their country the acquisition of an empire.

CHAPTER II.

SPANIARDS IN THE UNITED STATES.

I HAVE traced the progress of events which, for a season, gave to France the uncertain possession of Acadia and Canada. The same nation laid claim to large and undefined regions at the southern extremity of our republic. The expedition of Francis I. discovered the continent in a latitude south of the coast which Cabot had explored; but Verrazzani had yet been anticipated. The claim to Florida, on the ground of discovery, belonged to the Spanish, and was successfully asserted.

Extraordinary success had kindled in the Spanish nation an equally extraordinary enthusiasm. No sooner had the New World revealed itself to their enterprise, than the valiant men, who had won laurels under Ferdinand among the mountains of Andalusia, sought a new career of glory in more remote adventures. The weapons that had been tried in the battles with the Moors, and the military skill that had been acquired in the romantic conquest of Granada, were now turned against the feeble occupants of America. The passions of avarice and religious zeal were strangely blended; and the heroes of Spain sailed to the west, as if they had been bound on a new crusade, where infinite wealth was to reward their piety. The Spanish nation had become infatuated with a fondness for novelties; the "chivalry of the ocean" despised the range of Europe, as too narrow, and offering to their extravagant ambition nothing beyond mediocrity. America was the region of romance, where the heated imagination could indulge in the boldest delusions; where the simple natives ignorantly wore the most precious ornaments; and, by the side of the clear runs of water, the sands sparkled with

gold. What way soever, says the historian of the ocean, the Spaniards are called, with a beck only, or a whispering voice, to anything rising above water, they speedily prepare themselves to fly, and forsake certainties under the hope of more brilliant success. To carve out provinces with the sword ; to divide the wealth of empires ; to plunder the accumulated treasures of some ancient Indian dynasty ; to return from a roving expedition with a crowd of enslaved captives and a profusion of spoils—soon became the ordinary dreams in which the excited minds of the Spaniards delighted to indulge. Ease, fortune, life, all were squandered in the pursuit of a game, where, if the issue was uncertain, success was sometimes obtained, greater than the boldest imagination had dared to anticipate. Is it strange that these adventurers were often superstitious ? The New World and its wealth were in themselves so wonderful, that why should credit be withheld from the wildest fictions ? Why should not the hope be indulged, that the laws of nature themselves would yield to the desires of men so fortunate and so brave.

Juan Ponce de Leon was the discoverer of Florida.
^{1512.} His youth had been passed in military service in Spain ; and, during the wars in Granada, he had shared in the wild exploits of predatory valour. No sooner had the return of the first voyage across the Atlantic given an assurance of a New World, than he hastened to participate in the dangers and the fruits of adventure in America.

He was a fellow-voyager of Columbus in his second
^{1493.} expedition. In the wars of Hispaniola he had been a gallant soldier ; and Ovando had rewarded him with the government of the eastern province of that island. From the hills in his jurisdiction, he could behold, across the clear waters of a placid sea, the magnificent vegetation of Porto Rico, which distance rendered still more admirable,

^{1508.} as it was seen through the transparent atmosphere of the tropics. A visit to the island stimulated the cupidity of avarice, and Ponce aspired to the government.

He obtained the station : inured to sanguinary war,
^{1509.} he was inexorably severe in his administration : he oppressed the natives ; he amassed wealth. But his commission as governor of Porto Rico conflicted with the claims of the family of Columbus ; and policy, as well as justice, required his removal. Ponce was displaced.

Yet, in the midst of an archipelago, and in the vicinity of a continent, what need was there for a brave soldier to pine at the loss of power over a wild though fertile island? Age had not tempered the love of enterprise: he longed to advance his fortunes by the conquest of a kingdom, and to retrieve a reputation which was not without a blemish.(1) Besides, the veteran soldier, whose cheeks had been furrowed by hard service as well as by years, had heard, and had believed the tale, of a fountain which possessed virtues to renovate the life of those who should bathe in its stream, or give a perpetuity of youth to the happy man who should drink of its ever-flowing waters. So universal was this tradition, that it was credited in Spain, not by all the people and the court only, but by those who were distinguished for virtue and intelligence.(2)

Nature was to discover the secrets for which alchemy
1509. had toiled in vain; and the elixir of life was to flow from a perpetual fountain of the New World, in the midst of a country glittering with gems and gold.

Ponse embarked at Porto Rico, with a squadron of
1512. three ships, fitted out at his own expense, for his voyage to fairy-land. He touched at Guanahani; he sailed among the Bahamas; but the laws of nature remained inexorable. On Easter Sunday, which the Spaniards call Pascua Florida, land was seen. It was supposed to be an island, and received the name of Florida, from the day on which it was discovered, and from the aspect of the forests, which were then brilliant with a profusion of blossoms, and gay with the fresh verdure of early spring. Bad weather would not allow the squadron to approach land: at length the aged soldier was able to go on shore, in the latitude of thirty degrees and eight minutes; some miles, therefore, to the north of St. Augustine. The territory was claimed for Spain. Ponee remained for many weeks, to investigate the coast which he had discovered; though the currents of the gulf-stream, and the islands, between which the channel was yet unknown, threatened shipwreck. He doubled Cape Florida; he sailed among the group which he named Tortugas; and, despairing of entire success, he returned to Porto Rico, leaving a trusty follower to continue the research. The Indians had everywhere displayed determined hostility. Ponce de Leon

(1) Peter Martyr, d. iii, l. x.

(2) Peter Martyr, d. vii. l. vii., and d. ii. c. x.

remained an old man ; but Spanish commerce acquired a new channel through the Gulf of Florida, and Spain a new province, which imagination could esteem immeasurably rich, since its interior was unknown.

The government of Florida was the reward which Ponce received from the king of Spain ; but the dignity was 1513. accompanied with the onerous condition, that he should colonize the country which he was appointed to 1514- rule. Preparations in Spain, and an expedition against 1520. the Caribbee Indians, delayed his return to Florida.

When, after a long interval, he proceeded with two 1521. ships to take possession of his province and select a site for a colony, his company was attacked by the Indians with implacable fury. Many Spaniards were killed ; the survivors were forced to hurry to their ships ; Ponce de Leon himself, mortally wounded by an arrow, returned to Cuba to die. So ended the adventurer, who had coveted immeasurable wealth, and had hoped for perpetual youth. The discoverer of Florida had desired immortality on earth, and gained its shadow.(1)

Meantime, commerce may have discovered a path 1516. to Florida ; and Diego Miruelo, a careless sea-captain, sailing from Havana, is said to have approached the coast, and trafficed with the natives. He could not tell distinctly in what harbour he had anchored ; he brought home specimens of gold, obtained in exchange for toys ; and his report swelled the rumours, already credited, of the wealth of the country. Florida had at once obtained a governor ; it now constituted a part of a bishopric.(2)

The expedition of Francisco Fernandez, of Cor- 1517. dova, leaving the port of Havana, and sailing west by south, discovered the province of Yucatan and the Bay of Campeachy. He turned his prow to the north ; but, whatever may be asserted by careless historians, he was by no means able to trace the coast to any harbour which Ponce

(1) On Ponce de Leon, I have used Herrera, d. i. l. ix. c. x. xi. and xii. and d. i. l. x. c. xvi. Peter Martyr, d. iv. l. v. and d. v. l. i., and d. vii. l. iv. In Hakluyt, v. 320, 333, and 416. Gomara, Hist. Gen. de las Ind. c. xlvi. Garcilaso de la Vega, Hist. de la Florida, l. i. c. iii., and l. vi. c. xxii. Cardenas z Cano, Ensayo Chronologico para la Hist. Gen. de la Florida, d. i. p. 1, 2, and 5. Ed. 1723, folio. The author's true name is Andres Gonzalez de Barcia. Navarette, Coleccion, iii. 50—53. Compare, also, Eden and Willes, fol. 228, 229. Purchas, i. 957.

(2) Florida del Inca, Vega, l. i. c. ii. Ens. Cron. d. i. Anno MDXVI.

de Leon had visited.(1) At a place where he had landed for supplies of water, his company was suddenly assailed, and he himself mortally wounded.

The pilot whom Fernandez had employed soon 1518. conducted another squadron to the same shores. The knowledge already acquired was extended, and under happier auspices; and Grijalva, the commander of the fleet, explored the coast from Yucatan towards Panuco. The masses of gold which he collected, the rumours of the empire of Montezuma, its magnificence and its extent, heedlessly confirmed by the costly presents of the unsuspecting natives, were sufficient to inflame the coldest imagination, and excited the enterprise of Cortes. The voyage did not reach the shores of Florida.(2)

But while Grijalva was opening the way to the conquest of Mexico, the line of the American coast, from the Tortugas to Panuco, is said to have been examined, yet not with care, by an expedition which was planned, if not conducted, by Francisco Garay, the governor of Jamaica. The general outline of the Gulf of Mexico now became known.(3) Garay encountered the determined hostility of the natives; a danger which eventually proved less disastrous to him than the rivalry of his own countrymen. The adventurers in New Spain would endure no independent neighbour: the governor of Jamaica became involved in a career, which, as it ultimately tempted him to dispute the possession of a province with Cortes, led him to the loss of fortune and an inglorious death. The progress of discovery along the southern boundary of the United States was but little advanced by the expedition, of which the circumstances have been variously related.(4)

A voyage for slaves brought the Spaniards still further upon the northern coast. A company of seven, of whom the most distinguished was Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, fitted out two slave ships from St. Domingo, in quest of labourers for their plantations and mines. From

(1) The *Ensayo Cronologico para la Historia General de la Florida* is not sufficiently discriminating. The error asserted with confidence in d. i. ANNO MDXVII, may be corrected from Gomara, c. lii. Aut. de Solis, l. i. c. vi. Peter Martyr, d. iv. l. i. and ii. Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xvii. and xviii.

(2) Peter Martyr, d. iv. l. iii. and iv. Herrera, d. ii. l. iii. c. ix. Aut. de Solis, l. i. c. vii., viii., ix. Gomara, c. xlvi.

.. Peter Martyr, d. v. l. i. Gomara, c. xlvi.

(3) Peter Martyr, d. v. l. i. Gomara, c. xlvi. *Ensayo Cronologico*, 3, 4. Herrera, d. ii. l. iii. c. vii. T. Southey's *History of the West Indies*, i. 135.

the Bahama Islands, they passed to the coast of South Carolina, a country which was called Chicora. The Combahee⁽¹⁾ river received the name of the Jordan : the name of St. Helena, given to a cape, now belongs to the sound. The natives of this region had not yet had cause to fear Europeans ; their natural fastnesses had not yet been invaded ; and if they fled at the approach of men from the slave ships, it was rather from timid wonder than from a sense of peril. Gifts were interchanged ; a liberal hospitality was offered to the strangers ; confidence was established. At length the natives were invited to visit the ships ; they came in cheerful throngs ; the decks were covered. Immediately the ships weighed anchor ; the sails were unfurled, and the prows turned towards St. Domingo. Husbands were torn from their wives, and children from their parents. Thus the seeds of war were lavishly scattered where peace only had prevailed, and enmity was spread through the regions where friendship had been cherished. The crime was unprofitable, and was finally avenged. One of the returning ships foundered at sea, and the guilty and guiltless perished ; many of the captives in the other sickened and died.

The events that followed mark the character of the times. Vasquez, repairing to Spain, boasted of his expedition, as if it entitled him to reward, and the emperor, Charles V., acknowledged his claim. In those days, the Spanish monarch conferred a kind of appointment, which, however strange its character may appear, still has its parallel in history. Not only were provinces granted ; countries were distributed to be subdued ; and Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon begged to be appointed to the conquest of Chicora. After long entreaty, he obtained his suit.

The issue of the new and bolder enterprise was disastrous to the undertaker. He wasted his fortune in preparations ; his largest ship was stranded in the River Jordan ; many of his men were killed by the natives, whom wrongs had quickened to active resistance ; he himself escaped only to suffer from wounded pride ; and, conscious of having done nothing worthy of being remembered, the sense of humiliation is said to have hastened his death.⁽²⁾

(1) Holmes's Annals, i. 47.

(2) Peter Martyr, d. vii. c. ii. Gomara, c. xlvi. Herrera, d. iii. l. viii. c. viii. Herrera's West Indies, in Purchas, iv. 869. Galvano, in Hakluyt, iv. 429. Ensayo Cronologico, 4, 5, 6, 8, 9, and 160. Roberts's Florida, 27, 28. The Portuguese Relation, c. xiv.

The love of adventure did not wholly extinguish the desire for maritime discovery. When Cortes was able to 1524. pause from his success in Mexico, and devise further schemes for ingratiating himself with the Spanish monarch, he proposed to solve the problem of a north-west passage, the secret which has so long baffled the enterprise of the most courageous and persevering navigators. He deemed the existence of the passage unquestionable, and, by simultaneous voyages along the American coast, on the Pacific, and on the Atlantic, he hoped to complete the discovery, to which Sebastian Cabot had pointed the way.(1)

The design of Cortes remained but the offer of loyalty. A voyage to the north-west was really undertaken by 1525. Stephen Gomez, an experienced naval officer, who had been with Magellan in the first memorable passage into the Pacific Ocean. The expedition was decreed by the council for the Indies, in the hope of discovering the northern route to India, which, notwithstanding it had been sought for in vain, was yet universally believed to exist. His ship entered the bays of New York and New England; on old Spanish maps, that portion of our territory is marked as the Land of Gomez. Failing to discover a passage, and fearful to return without success and without a freight, he filled his vessel with robust Indians, to be sold as slaves. Brilliant expectations had been raised; and the conclusion was esteemed despicably ludicrous. The Spaniards scorned to repeat their voyages to the cold and frozen north; in the south, and in the south only, they looked for "great and exceeding riches."(2) The adventure of Gomez had no political results. It had been furthered by the enemies of Cabot, who was, at that time, in the service of Spain; and it established the reputation of the Bristol mariner. (3)

But neither the fondness of the Spanish monarch for extensive domains, nor the desire of the nobility for new governments, nor the passion of adventurers for undiscovered wealth, would permit the abandonment of the 1526. conquest of Florida. Permission to invade that territory was next sought for and obtained by Pamphilo de

(1) *Quarta Carta, o Relacion de Don Fernando Cortes.* S. xix. in Barcia's *Historiadores Primitivos*, i. 151, 152. The same may be found in the Italian of Ramusio, iii. fol. 224, ed. 1665.

(2) *Peter Martyr*, d. viii. l. x.

(3) *Peter Martyr*, d. vi. l. x. and d. viii. l. x. *Gomara*, c. xl. *Herrera*, d. iii. l. viii. c. viii.

Narvaez, a man of no great virtue or reputation. This is the same person who had been sent by the jealous governor of Cuba to take Cortes prisoner, and who, after having declared him an outlaw, was himself easily defeated. He lost an eye in the affray, and his own troops deserted him. When brought into the presence of the man whom he had promised to arrest, he said to him, "Esteem it great good fortune that you have taken me captive." Cortes replied, and with truth, "It is the least of the things I have done in Mexico."(1)

The territory placed at the mercy of Narvaez extended to the River of Palms; further, therefore, to the west, than the territory which was afterwards included in Louisiana. His expedition was as adventurous as his attempt against Cortes, but it was memorable for its disasters. Of three hundred men, of whom eighty were mounted, but four or five returned. The valour of the natives, thirst, famine, and pestilence, the want of concert between the ships and the men set on shore, the errors of judgment in the commanders, rapidly melted away the unsuccessful company. It is not possible to ascertain, with exactness, the point where Narvaez first landed in Florida; probably it was at a bay a little east of the meridian of Cape St. Antonio, in Cuba; it may have been, therefore, not far from the bay now called Appalachee. The party soon struck into the interior; they knew not where they were, nor whither they were going, and followed the directions of the natives. These, with a sagacity careful to save themselves from danger, described the distant territory as full of gold, and freed themselves from the presence of troublesome guests, by exciting a hope that covetousness could elsewhere be amply gratified. The town of Appallachee, which was thought to contain immense accumulations of wealth, proved to be an inconsiderable collection of wigwams. It was probably in the region of the Bay of Pensacola that the remnant of the party, after a ramble of eight hundred miles, finally came again upon the sea, in a condition of extreme penury. Here they manufactured rude boats, in which none but desperate men would have embarked; and Narvaez and most of his companions, after having passed nearly six

(1) Cortes, *Carta de Relacion*, c. i. s. xxxv.—xxxvii. in Barcia, i. 36—44. Gomara, *Cronica de la Nueva Espana*, c. xcvi—ci.

months in Florida, perished in a storm near the mouths of the Mississippi.(1) One ship's company was wrecked upon an island; most of those who were saved died of famine. The four who ultimately reached Mexico by land succeeded only after years of hardships. The simple narrative of their wanderings, their wretchedness, and their courageous enterprise, could not but have been full of marvels; their rambles, extending across Louisiana and the northern part of Mexico to the shores of the Pacific Ocean in Sonora, were almost as wide as those of Lewis and Clark to the sources of the Missouri and the mouth of the Columbia River; the story, which one of them published, and of which the truth was affirmed, on oath, before a magistrate, is disfigured by bold exaggerations and the wildest fictions.(2) The knowledge of the bays and rivers of Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico, was not essentially increased; the strange tales of miraculous cures, of natural prodigies and of the resurrection of the dead, were harmless falsehoods; the wanderers, on their return, persevered in the far more fatal assertion, that Florida was the richest country in the world.(3)

The assertion was readily believed, even by those to whom the wealth of Mexico and Peru was familiarly known. To no one was credulity more disastrous than to Ferdinand de Soto, a native of Xeres, and now an ambitious courtier. He had himself gained fame and fortune by military service in the New World. He had been the favourite companion of Pizarro in the conquest of Peru, where he had distinguished himself for conduct and valour. At the storming of Cusco he had surpassed his companions in arms. He assisted in arresting the unhappy

(1) Prince, 86, a safe interpreter.

(2) On Narvaez, the original work is, *Naufragios de Alvar Nunez Cabeca de Vaca, en la Florida*; in Barcia, ii. 1—43. There is an Italian version in Ramusio, iii. fol. 310—330. The English version, in Purchas, iv. 1499—1528, is from the Italian. Compare Gemara, c. xlvi.; Herrera, d. iv. l. iv. c. iv.—vii., and d. iv. l. v. c. v.; Purchas, i. 957, 958—962. Examen Apologetico, in Barcia, i. at the end, does not confer authority on Nunez. The scepticism of Benzo, in Calveto's *Novaæ Novi Orbis Historiæ*, l. ii. c. xiii. 206, is praiseworthy. Compare, also, Roberts's *Florida*, 28—32, and a note in Holmes's *Annals*, i. 59; *Ensayo Cronologico*, 10; Vega, l. ii. p. ii. c. vi. Hints may also be found scattered through Vega's *Historia de la Florida*, and in the Portuguese account in Hakluyt. Humboldt, *Nouv. Esp.* ii. 435.

(3) *Virginia Valued*; the Portuguese Account; Dedication in Hakluyt, v. 479; Herrera, d. iii. l. viii. c. viii.; Hakluyt, v. 484; Vega, l. i. c. v.

Atahualpa, and he shared in the immense ransom with which the credulous inca purchased the promise of freedom. Perceiving the angry divisions which were threatened by the jealousy of the Spaniards in Peru, Soto had seasonably withdrawn with his share of the spoils, and now appeared in Spain to enjoy his reputation, to display his opulence, and to solicit advancement. His reception was triumphant; success of all kinds awaited him. The daughter of the distinguished nobleman, under whom he had first served as a poor adventurer, became his wife;(1) and the special favour of Charles V. invited his ambition to prefer a large request. It had ever been believed, that the depths of the continent at the north concealed cities as magnificent, and temples as richly endowed, as any which had yet been plundered within the limits of the tropics. Soto desired to rival Cortes in glory, and surpass Pizarro in wealth. Blinded by avarice and the love of power, he repaired to Valladolid, and demanded permission to conquer Florida at his own cost; and Charles V. readily conceded to so renowned a commander the government of the Isle of Cuba, with absolute power over the immense territory, to which the name of Florida was still vaguely applied.(2)

No sooner was the design of the new expedition published in Spain, than the wildest hopes were indulged. How brilliant must be the prospect, since even the conqueror of Peru was willing to hazard his fortune and the greatness of his name! Adventurers assembled as volunteers; many of them people of noble birth and good estates. Houses and vineyards, lands for tillage, and rows of olive-trees in the Ajarrafe of Seville, were sold, as in

the times of the crusades, to obtain the means of
1539. military equipments. The port of San Lucar of Barrameda was crowded with those who hastened to solicit permission to share in the enterprise. Even soldiers of Portugal desired to be enrolled for the service. A muster was held; the Portuguese appeared in the glittering array of burnished armour; and the Castilians, brilliant with hopes, were "very gallant with silk upon silk." Soto gave directions as to the armament; from the numerous aspirants he selected for his companions six hundred men

(1) Portuguese Relation, c. i.; in Hakluyt, v. 483.

(2) Portuguese Relation, c. i. 483; Vega, l. i. c. i.; Herrera, d. iv. l. i. c. iii.

in the bloom of life, the flower of the peninsula; many persons of good account, who had sold estates for their equipments, were obliged to remain behind.(1)

The fleet sailed as gaily as if it had been but a holiday excursion of a bridal party. In Cuba the precaution was used to send vessels to Florida to explore a harbour; and two Indians, brought as captives to Havana, invented such falsehoods as they perceived would be acceptable. They conversed by signs; and the signs were interpreted as affirming that Florida abounded in gold. The news spread great contentment; Soto and his troops were restless with longing for the hour of their departure to the conquest of "the richest country which had yet been discovered." (2) The infection spread in Cuba; and Vasco Porcallo, an aged and wealthy man, lavished his fortune in magnificent equipments.(3)

Soto had been welcomed in Cuba by long and brilliant festivals and rejoicings. At length all preparations were completed; leaving his wife to govern the island, he and his company, full of unbounded expectations, embarked for Florida; and, in about a fortnight, his fleet anchored in the Bay of Spiritu Santo.(4) The soldiers went on shore; the horses, between two and three hundred in number, were disembarked, and the men of the expedition stood upon the soil which they had so eagerly desired to tread. Soto would listen to no augury but that of success; and, like Cortes, he refused to retain his ships, lest they should afford a temptation to retreat. Most of them were sent to Havana.(5) The aged Porcallo, a leading man in the enterprise, soon grew alarmed, and began to remember his establishments in Cuba. It had been a principal object with him to obtain slaves for his estates and mines; despairing of success, and terrified with the marshes and thick forests, he also sailed for the island, where he could enjoy his wealth in security. Soto was indignant at the desertion, but concealed his anger.(6)

(1) Port. Rel. c. ii. and iii.; Vega, l. i. c. v. and vi. When the authorities vary, I follow that which is least highly coloured, and give the smaller number. Vega says there were a thousand men, and he strenuously vindicates his own integrity and love of truth. He wrote from the accounts of eye-witnesses, whom he examined; he was not himself an eye-witness.

(2) Portuguese Relation, c. i.

(3) Vega, l. i. c. xii.

(4) Portuguese Relation, c. vii.; Vega, l. i. part i. c. i. 23.

(5) Ibid. c. x.

(6) Ibid. c. x.; Vega, l. ii. part i. c. xi. and xii.

And now began the nomadic march of the adventurers ; a numerous body of horsemen, besides infantry, completely armed ; a force exceeding in numbers and equipments the famous expeditions against the empires of Mexico and Peru. Everything was provided that experience in former invasions and the cruelty of avarice could suggest ; chains (1) for captives, and the instruments of a forge ; arms of all kinds then in use, and bloodhounds as auxiliaries against the feeble natives ; (2) ample stores of food, and, as a last resort, a drove of hogs, which would soon swarm in the favouring climate, where the forests and the Indian maize furnished abundant sustenance. It was a roving expedition of gallant freebooters in quest of fortune. It was a romantic stroll of men whom avarice rendered ferocious, through unexplored regions, over unknown paths ; wherever rumour might point to the residence of some chieftain with more than Peruvian wealth, or the ill-interpreted signs of the ignorant natives might seem to promise a harvest of gold. The passion for cards now first raged among the groves of the south ; and often at the resting-places groups of listless adventurers clustered together to enjoy the excitement of desperate gaming. Religious zeal was also united with avarice ; there were not only cavalry and foot-soldiers, with all that belongs to warlike array ; twelve priests, besides other ecclesiastics, accompanied the expedition. Florida was to become Catholic during scenes of robbery and carnage. Ornaments, such as are used at the service of mass,(3) were carefully provided ; every festival was to be kept ; every religious practice to be observed. As the troop marched through the wilderness, the solemn processions, which the usages of the church enjoined, were scrupulously instituted.(4)

The wanderings of the first season brought the company from the Bay of Spiritu Santo to the country of the Appalachians, east of the Flint River, and not far from the head of the Bay of Appalachee.(5) The names of the intermediate places cannot be identified. The march was tedious and full of dangers. The Indians were always hostile ; the

(1) Portuguese Relation, c. xi. and xii.

(2) Ibid. c. xi. and elsewhere.

(3) Ibid. c. xix.

(4) Ibid. c. xx., and in various places, speaks of the friars and priests. Vega, l. i. c. vi. 9; l. iv. c. vi. and elsewhere. Herrera confirms the statement.

(5) Portuguese Relation, c. xii.; Vega, l. ii. part ii. c. iv.; McCulloh's Researches, 524.

two captives of the former expedition escaped ; a Spaniard, who had been kept in slavery from the time of Narvaez, could give no accounts of any country where there was silver or gold.(1) The guides would purposely lead the Castilians astray, and involve them in morasses ; even though death, under the fangs of the bloodhounds, was the certain punishment. The whole company grew dispirited, and desired the governor to return, since the country opened no brilliant prospects. "I will not turn back," said Soto, "till I have seen the poverty of the country with my own eyes."(2) The hostile Indians, who were taken prisoners, were in part put to death, in part enslaved. These were led in chains, with iron collars about their necks ; their service was to grind the maize and to carry the baggage. An exploring party discovered Ochus,(3) the harbour of Pensacola ; and a message was sent to Cuba, desiring that in the ensuing year supplies for the expedition might be sent to that place.(4)

Early in the spring of the following year the wanderers renewed their march, with an Indian guide, who promised to lead the way to a country, governed, it was said, by a woman, and where gold so abounded, that the art of melting and refining it was understood. He described the process so well, that the credulous Spaniards took heart, and exclaimed, "He must have seen it, or the devil has been his teacher!" The Indian appears to have pointed towards the gold region of North Carolina.(5) The adventurers, therefore, eagerly hastened to the northeast ; they passed the Alatamaha ; they admired the fertile valleys of Georgia, rich, productive, and full of good rivers. They passed a northern tributary of the Alatamaha, and a southern branch of the Ogeechee ; and, at length, came upon the Ogeechee itself, which, in April, flowed with a full channel and a strong current. Much of the time the Spaniards were in wild solitudes, they suffered for want of salt and of meat. Their Indian guide affected madness ; but "they said a gospel over him, and the fit left him." Again he involved them in pathless wilds, and then he would have been torn in pieces by the dogs, if he had not still been needed to assist the interpreter. Of

(1) Portuguese Relation, c. ix.

(2) Ibid. c. xi.

(3) Ibid. c. xii.

(4) Ibid. c. vii.—xii. ; Vega, l. ii. parts i. and ii.

(5) Silliman's Journal, xxiii. 8, 9.

four Indian captives who were questioned, one bluntly answered he knew no country such as they described; the governor ordered him to be burnt, for what was esteemed his falsehood. The sight of the execution quickened the invention of his companions, and the Spaniards made their way to the small Indian settlement of Cutifa-Chiqui. A dagger and a rosary were found here; the story of the Indians traced them to the expedition of Vasquez de Ayllon; and a two days' journey would reach, it was believed, the harbour of St. Helena. The soldiers thought of home, and desired either to make a settlement on the fruitful soil around them, or to return. The governor was "a stern man, and of few words." Willingly hearing the opinions of others, he was inflexible when he had once declared his own mind; and all his followers, "condescending to his will," continued to indulge delusive hopes.(1)

The direction of the march was now to the north, to the comparatively sterile country of the Cherokees,(2) and in part through a district in which gold is now found. The inhabitants were poor, but gentle; they liberally offered such presents as their habits of life permitted—deer skins and wild hens. Soto could hardly have crossed the mountains, so as to enter the basin of the Tennessee River;(3) it seems, rather, that he passed from the head-waters of the Savannah, or the Chattahouchee, to the head-waters of the Coosa. The name of Canasauga, a village at which he halted, is still given to a branch of the latter stream. For several months the Spaniards were in the valleys which send their waters to the Bay of Mobile. Chiaha was an island distant about a hundred miles from Canasauga. An exploring party which was sent to the north were appalled by the aspect of the Appalachian chain, and pronounced the mountains impassable. They had looked for mines of copper and gold, and their only plunder was a buffalo robe.

In the latter part of July the Spaniards were at Coosa. In the course of the season they had occasion to praise the wild grape of the country, the same, perhaps, which has since been thought worthy of culture, and to admire the luxuriant growth of maize, which was springing from

(1) Portuguese Relation, c. xiii. and xiv.; Vega, l. iii. c. ii.—xvii. Compare Belknap, i. 188. I cannot follow McCullch, 524.

(2) Nuttall's Arkansas, 124; McCulloh's Researches, 524.

(3) Martin's Louisiana, i. 11.

the fertile plains of Alabama. A southerly direction led the train to Tuscaloosa ; nor was it long before the wanderers reached a considerable town on the Alabama, above the junction of the Tombecbee, and about one hundred miles, or six days' journey, from Pensacola. The village was called Mavilla, or Mobile, a name which is still preserved, and applied, not to the bay only, but to the river, after the union of its numerous tributaries. The Spaniards, tired of lodging in the fields, desired to occupy the cabins ; the Indians rose to resist the invaders, whom they distrusted and feared. A battle ensued ; the terrors of their cavalry gave the victory to the Spaniards. I know not if a more bloody Indian fight ever occurred on the soil of the United States ; the town was set on fire, and a witness of the scene, doubtless greatly exaggerating the loss, relates that two thousand five hundred Indians were slain, suffocated, or burned. They had fought with desperate courage, and, but for the flames, which consumed their light and dense settlements, they would have effectually repulsed the invaders. "Of the Christians, eighteen died," one hundred and fifty were wounded with arrows, twelve horses were slain, and seventy hurt. The flames had not spared the baggage of the Spaniards ; it was within the town, and was entirely consumed.(1)

Meanwhile, ships from Cuba had arrived at Ochus, now Pensacola. Soto was too proud to confess his failure. He had made no important discoveries : he had gathered no stores of silver and gold, which he might send to tempt new adventurers ; the fires of Mobile had consumed the curious collections which he had made. It marks the resolute cupidity and stubborn pride with which the expedition was conducted, that he determined to send no news of himself, until, like Cortes, he had found some rich country.(2)

But the region above the mouth of the Mobile was populous and hostile, and yet too poor to promise plunder. Soto retreated towards the north ; his troops already reduced, by sickness and warfare, to five hundred men. A month passed away, before he reached winter-quarters at Chicaça, a small town in the country of the Chickasas, in

(1) Port. Rel. c. xvii.—xix. 508—512. Vega is very extravagant in his account of the battle. L. iii. c. xxvii.—xxxii. On localities, compare Belknap, i. 189—190; McCulloh, 525 ; and T. Irving's Florida, ii. 37.

(2) Portuguese Relation, c. xix.

the upper part of the state of Mississippi,—probably on the western bank of the Yazoo. The weather was severe, and snow fell; but maize was yet standing in the open fields. The Spaniards were able to gather a supply^{1541.} of food; and the deserted town, with such rude cabins as they added, afforded them shelter through the winter. Yet no mines of Peru were discovered; no ornaments of gold adorned the rude savages; their wealth was the harvest of corn, and wigwams were their only palaces; they were poor and independent,—they were hardy, and loved freedom. When spring(1) opened, Soto, as he had usually done with other tribes, demanded of the chieftain of the Chickasaws two hundred men to carry the burdens of his company. The Indians hesitated. Human nature is the same in every age and in every climate. Like the inhabitants of Athens in the days of Themistocles, or those of Moscow of a recent day, the Chickasaws, unwilling to see strangers and enemies occupy their homes, in the dead of night, deceiving the sentinels, set fire to their own village, in which the Castilians were encamped.(2) On a sudden, half the houses were in flames; and the loudest notes of the war-whoop rung through the air. The Indians, could they have acted with calm bravery, might have gained an easy and entire victory; but they trembled at their own success, and feared the unequal battle against weapons of steel. Many of the horses had broken loose; these, terrified and without riders, roamed through the forest, of which the burning village illuminated the shades, and seemed to the ignorant natives the gathering of hostile squadrons. Others of the horses perished in the stables; most of the swine were consumed; eleven of the Christians were burned, or lost their lives in the tumult. The clothes which had been saved from the fires of Mobile were destroyed; and the Spaniards, now as naked as the natives, suffered from the cold. Weapons and equipments were consumed or spoiled. Had the Indians made a resolute onset on this night or the next, the Spaniards would have been unable to resist. But in a respite of a week, forges were erected, swords newly tempered, and good ashen lances were made, equal to the best of Biscay. When the Indians attacked the camp, they found "the Christians" prepared.

(1) Vega says January. L. iii. c. xxxvi.

(2) Vega, l. iii. c. xxxvi., xxxvii. and xxxviii. Port. Account, c. xx. xxi.

All the disasters which had been encountered, far from diminishing the boldness of the governor, served only to confirm his obstinacy by wounding his pride. Should he, who had promised greater booty than Mexico or Peru had yielded, now return as a defeated fugitive, so naked that his troops were clad only in skins and mats of ivy? The search for some wealthy region was renewed; the caravan marched still farther to the west. For seven days, it struggled through a wilderness of forests and marshes; and, at length, came to Indian settlements in the vicinity of the Mississippi. Soto was the first of Europeans to behold the magnificent river, which rolled its immense mass of waters through the splendid vegetation of a wide alluvial soil. The lapse of nearly three centuries has not changed the character of the stream: it was then described as more than a mile broad; flowing with a strong current, and, by the weight of its waters, forcing a channel of great depth. The water was always muddy; trees and timber were continually floating down the stream.(1)

The Spaniards were guided to the Mississippi by natives; and were directed to one of the usual crossing places,—probably at the lowest Chickasa Bluff,(2) not far from the thirty-fifth parallel of latitude.(3) The arrival of the strangers awakened curiosity and fear. A multitude of people from the western banks of the river, painted and gaily decorated with great plumes of white feathers, the warriors standing in rows with bow and arrows in their hands, the chieftains sitting under awnings as magnificent as the artless manufactures of the natives could weave, came rowing down the stream in a fleet of two hundred canoes, seeming to the admiring Spaniards “like a fair army of galleys.” They brought gifts of fish, and loaves made of the fruit of the persimmon. At first they showed some desire to offer resistance; but, soon becoming conscious of their relative weakness, they ceased to defy an enemy who could not be overcome, and suffered

(1) Portuguese Account, c. xxii.; Vega, l. iv. c. iii. I never rely on Vega alone.

(2) Portuguese Account, c. xxxii. and xxxiii. taken in connection with the more diffuse account of Vega, l. iv. c. v.

(3) Belknap, i. 192: “Within the thirty-fourth degree.” Andrew Elliott’s Journal, 125: “Thirty-four degrees and ten minutes.” Martin’s Louisiana, i. 12: “A little below the lowest Chickasaw Bluff.” Nuttall’s Travels in Arkansas, 248: “The lowest Chickasaw Bluff.” McCulloh’s Researches, 326: “Twenty or thirty miles below the mouth of the Arkansas River.”

injury without attempting open retaliation. The boats of the natives were too weak to transport horses ; almost a month expired, before barges large enough to hold three horsemen each were constructed for crossing the river. At length the Spaniards embarked upon the Mississippi, and Europeans were borne to its western bank.

The Daheota tribes, doubtless, then occupied the country south-west of the Missouri.(1) Soto had heard its praises ; he believed in its vicinity to mineral wealth ; and he determined to visit its towns. In ascending the Mississippi, the party was often obliged to wade through morasses ; at length they came, as it would seem, upon the district of Little Prairie, and the dry and elevated lands which extend towards New Madrid. Here the religions of the invaders and the natives came in contrast. The Spaniards were adored as children of the sun ; and the blind were brought into their presence, to be healed by the sons of light. "Pray only to God, who is in heaven, for whatsoever ye need," said Soto in reply ; and the sublime doctrine, which, thousands of years before, had been proclaimed in the deserts of Arabia, now first found its way into the prairies of the Far West. The wild fruits of that region were abundant ; the pecan-nut, the mulberry, and the two kinds of wild plums, furnished the natives with articles of food. At Pacaha, the northernmost point which Soto reached near the Mississippi, he remained forty days. The spot cannot be identified ; but the accounts of the amusements of the Spaniards confirm the truth of the narrative of their ramblings. Fish were taken, such as are now found in the fresh waters of that region ; one of them, the spade-fish,(2) the strangest and most whimsical production of the muddy streams of the west, so rare that, even now, it is hardly to be found in any museum, is accurately described by the best historian of the expedition.(3)

An exploring party, which was sent to examine the

(1) Charlevoix, *Journal Historique*, let. xxviii. Nuttall's *Arkansas*, 82, 250 and 251. McCulloh disagrees ; 526—528.

(2) *Platirostra Edentula*.

(3) Portuguese Relation, c. xxiv. : "There was another fish, called a peeple fish ; it had a snout of a cubit long and at the end of the upper lip, it was made like a peeple. It had no scales." Compare Flint's *Geography*, i. 85. *Journal of Phil. Acad. of Nat. Science*, i. 227—229. Nuttall's *Arkansas*, 254.

regions to the north, reported that they were almost a desert. The country still nearer the Missouri was said by the Indians to be thinly inhabited ; the bison abounded there so much, that no maize could be cultivated ; and the few inhabitants were hunters. Soto turned, therefore, to the west and north-west, and plunged still more deeply into the interior of the continent. The highlands of White River, more than two hundred miles from the Mississippi, were probably the limit of his ramble in this direction. The mountains offered neither gems nor gold ; and the disappointed adventurers marched to the south.(1) They passed through a succession of towns, of which the position cannot be fixed ; till, at length, we find them among the Tunicas,(2) near the hot springs and saline tributaries of the Washita.(3) It was at Autiamque, a town on the same river,(4) that they passed the winter ; they had arrived at the settlement through the country of the Kappaws.

The native tribes, everywhere on the route, were found in a state of civilization beyond that of nomadic hordes. They were an agricultural people, with fixed places of abode, and subsisted upon the produce of the fields, more than upon the chase. Ignorant of the arts of life, they could offer no resistance to their unwelcome visitors ; the bow and arrow were the most effective weapons with which they were acquainted. They seem not to have been turbulent or quarrelsome ; but as the population was moderate, and the earth fruitful, the tribes were not accustomed to contend with each other for the possession of territories. Their dress was, in part, mats wrought of ivy and bulrushes, of the bark and lint of trees ; in cold weather, they wore mantles woven of feathers. The settlements were by tribes ; each tribe occupied what the Spaniards called a province ; their villages were generally near together, but were composed of few habitations. The Spaniards treated them with no other forbearance than their own selfishness demanded, and enslaved such as offended, employing them as porters and guides. On a slight suspicion, they would cut off the hands of numbers

(1) Portuguese Rel. c. xxv.—xxvii.

(2) Charlevoix, Jour. Hist. l. xxxi.

(3) Portuguese Narrative, c. xxvi. Nuttall's Arkansas, 215, 216, 257.

(4) The river of Autiamque, Cayas, the saline regions, and afterwards of Nilco, was the same. Portuguese Relation, c. xxviii.

of the natives, for punishment or intimidation ; (1) while the young cavaliers, from desire of seeming valiant, ceased to be merciful, and exulted in cruelties and carnage. The guide who was unsuccessful, or who purposely led them away from the settlements of his tribe, would be seized and thrown to the hounds. Sometimes a native was condemned to the flames. Any trifling consideration of safety would induce the governor to set fire to a hamlet. He did not delight in cruelty ; but the happiness, the life, and the rights of the Indians, were held of no account. The approach of the Spaniards was heard with dismay ; and their departure hastened by the suggestion of wealthier lands at a distance.

In the spring of the following year, Soto de-^{1542.} termined to descend the Washita to its junction, and to get tidings of the sea. As he advanced, he was soon lost amidst the bayous and marshes which are found along the Red River and its tributaries. Near the Mississippi, he came upon the country of Nilco, which was well peopled. The river was there larger than the Guadaluquivir at Seville. At last, he arrived at the province where the Washita, already united with the Red River, enters the Mississippi. (2) The province was called Guachoya. Soto anxiously inquired the distance to the sea ; the chieftain of Guachoya could not tell. Were there settlements extending along the river to its mouth ? It was answered that its lower banks were an uninhabited waste. Unwilling to believe so disheartening a tale, Soto sent one of his men, with eight horsemen, to descend the banks of the Mississippi, and explore the country. They travelled eight days, and were able to advance not much more than thirty miles, they were so delayed by the frequent bayous, the impassable cane-brakes, and the dense woods. (3) The governor received the intelligence with concern ; he suffered from anxiety and gloom. His horses and men were dying around him, so that the natives were becoming dangerous enemies. He attempted to overawe a tribe of Indians near Natchez by claiming a supernatural birth, and demanding obedience and tribute.

(1) Calveto, from Benzo, Hist. N. Orbis N. I. ii. c. xiii. in De Bry, iv. 47.

(2) McCulloh places Guachoya near the Arkansas. He does not make sufficient allowance for an exaggeration of distances, and for delays on the Mississippi during the night-time ; 529—531. Nuttall, Martin, and others agree with the statement in the text.

(3) Portuguese Account, c. xxix.

" You say you are the child of the sun," replied the undaunted chief; " dry up the river, and I will believe you. Do you desire to see me? Visit the town where I dwell. If you come in peace, I will receive you with special goodwill; if in war, I will not shrink one foot back." But Soto was no longer able to abate the confidence, or punish the temerity of the natives. His stubborn pride was changed by long disappointments into a wasting melancholy; and his health sunk rapidly and entirely under a conflict of emotions. A malignant fever ensued, during which he had little comfort, and was neither visited nor attended as the last hours of life demand. Believing his death near at hand, he held the last solemn interview with his faithful followers; and, yielding to the wishes of his companions, who obeyed him to the end, he named a successor. On the next day he died. Thus perished Ferdinand de Soto, the governor of Cuba, the successful associate of Pizarro. His miserable end was the more observed, from the greatness of his former prosperity. His soldiers pronounced his eulogy by grieving for their loss; the priests chanted over his body the first requiems that were ever heard on the waters of the Mississippi. To conceal his death, his body was wrapped in a mantle, and, in the stillness of midnight, was silently sunk in the middle of the stream. The discoverer of the Mississippi slept beneath its waters. He had crossed a large part of the continent in search of gold, and found nothing so remarkable as his burial-place.(1)

No longer guided by the energy and pride of Soto, the company resolved on reaching New Spain without delay. Should they embark in such miserable boats as they could construct, and descend the river? Or should they seek a path to Mexico through the forests? They were unanimous in the opinion, that it was less dangerous to go by land; the hope was still cherished, that some wealthy state, some opulent city, might yet be discovered, and all fatigues be forgotten in the midst of victory and spoils. Again they penetrated the western wilderness; in July, they found themselves in the country of the Natchitoches;(2) but the Red River was so swollen, that

(1) Portuguese Relation, c. xxx. Vega, l. v. p. i. c. vii. viii. Vega embellishes. Herrera, d. vii. l. vii. c. iii.

(2) Vega introduces the Natchitoches too soon. L. v. p. i. c. i. See Portuguese Account, c. xxxii. and xxxiii. Compare Nuttall, 264.

it was impossible for them to pass. They soon became bewildered. As they proceeded, the Indian guides purposely led them astray ; "they went up and down through very great woods," without making any progress. The wilderness, into which they had at last wandered, was sterile and scarcely inhabited ; they had now reached the great buffalo prairies of the west, the hunting-grounds of the Pawnees and Comanches, the migratory tribes on the confines of Mexico. The Spaniards believed themselves to be at least one hundred and fifty leagues west of the Mississippi. Desperate as the resolution seemed, it was determined to return once more to its banks, and follow its current to the sea. There were not wanting men, whose hopes and whose courage were not yet exhausted, who wished rather to die in the wilderness, than to leave it in poverty ; but Moscoso, the new governor, had long "desired to see himself in a place where he might sleep his full sleep." (1)

They came upon the Mississippi at Minoya, a few leagues above the mouth of Red River, often wading through deep waters, and grateful to God, if, at night, they could find a dry resting-place. The Indians, whom they had enslaved, died in great numbers ; in Minoya, many Christians died ; and most of them were attacked by a dangerous epidemic.

Nor was the labour yet at an end : it was no easy task for men in their condition to build brigantines. Erecting a forge, they struck off the fetters from the slaves ; and, gathering every scrap of iron in the camp, they wrought it into nails. Timber was sawed by hand with a large saw, which they had always carried with them. They caulked their vessels with a weed like hemp ; barrels, capable of holding water, were with difficulty made ; to obtain supplies of provision, all the hogs and even the horses were killed, and their flesh preserved by drying ; and the neighbouring townships of Indians were so plundered of their food, that the miserable inhabitants would come about the Spaniards begging for a few kernels of their own maize, and often died from weakness and want of food. The rising of the Mississippi assisted the launching of the seven brigantines ; they were frail barks, which had no decks ; and as, from the want of iron, the nails were of necessity short, they were constructed of

(1) Portuguese Relation, c. xxxiv.

very thin planks, so that the least shock would have broken them in pieces. Thus provided, in seventeen days the fugitives reached the Gulf of Mexico; the distance seemed to them two hundred and fifty leagues, and was not much less than five hundred miles. They were the first to observe, that for some distance from the mouth of the Mississippi the sea is not salt, so great is the volume of fresh water which the river discharges. Following, for the most part, the coast, it was more than fifty days before the men, who finally escaped, now no more than three hundred and eleven in number, entered the River Panuco.(1)

Such is the history of the first visit of Europeans to the Mississippi; the honour of the discovery belongs, without a doubt, to the Spaniards. There were not wanting adventurers who desired to make one more attempt to possess the country by force of arms; their request was refused.(2) Religious zeal was more persevering; Louis Canevello, a missionary of the Dominican order, gained, through Philip, then heir apparent in Spain, permission to visit Florida, and attempt the peaceful conversion of the natives. Christianity was to conquer the land against which so many expeditions had failed. The Spanish governors were directed to favour the design; all slaves, that had been taken from the northern shore of the Gulf of Mexico, were to be manumitted and restored

(1) On Soto's expedition, by far the best account is that of the Portuguese Eye-witness, first published in 1557, and by Hakluyt, in English, in 1609. There is an imperfect abridgment of it in Purchas, iv. 1528—1556; and a still more imperfect one in Roberts's Florida, 33—79. This narrative is remarkably good, and contains internal evidence of its credibility. Nuttall erroneously attributes it to Vega. In the work of Vega, numbers and distances are magnified; and everything embellished with great boldness. His history is not without its value, but must be consulted with extreme caution. Herrera, d. vi. l. vii. c. ix—xii., and d. vii. l. vii. c. i.—xi. is not an original authority. The *Ensayo Cronologico* contains nothing of moment on the subject. L'Escarbot, N. Fr. i. 36, De Laet, l. iv. c. iv.—ix., and Charlevoix, N. Fr. i. 24, and iii. 408, offer no new views. Du Pratz is unnecessarily sceptical. The French translator of Vega has not a word of valuable criticism. Of English authors, neither Purchas nor Harris has furnished any useful illustrations. Of books published in America, Belknap, in Am. Biog. i. 185—195, comments with his usual care. McCulloh, in his Researches, appendix, iii. 523—531, makes an earnest attempt to trace the route of Soto. So Nuttall, in his Travels in Arkansas, appendix, 247—267. Nuttall had himself roved through the same regions, and his opinions are justly entitled to much deference. Flint only glances at the subject. Stoddard, in his Sketches, 4, is vague and without detail. I have compared all these authors; the account in Hakluyt, with good modern maps, can lead to firm conclusions.

(2) *Ensayo Cronologico, Anno MDXLIV.*

to their country. A ship was fitted out with much solemnity; but the priests, who sought the first interview with the natives, were feared as enemies, and, being immediately attacked, Louis and two others fell martyrs to their zeal.(1)

Florida was abandoned. It seemed as if death guarded the avenues to the country.(2) While the Castilians were everywhere else victorious, Florida was wet with the blood of the invaders, who had still been unable to possess themselves of her soil. The coast of our republic on the Gulf of Mexico was not, at this time, disputed by any other nation with Spain; while that power claimed, under the name of Florida, the whole sea-coast as far as Newfoundland,(3) and even to the remotest north. In Spanish geography, Canada was a part of Florida.(4) Yet within that whole extent not a Spanish fort was erected, not a harbour was occupied, not one settlement was begun. The first permanent establishment of the Spaniards in Florida was the result of jealous bigotry.

For France had begun to settle the region with a colony of Protestants; and Calvinism, which, with the special co-operation of Calvin himself, had, for a short season, occupied the coasts of Brazil and the harbour of Rio

Janiero,(5) was now to be planted on the borders of Florida. Coligny had long desired to establish a refuge for the Huguenots, and a Protestant French empire, in America. Disappointed in his first effort by the apostacy and faithlessness of his agent, Villegagnon, he still persevered; moved alike by religious zeal, and by a passion for the honour of France. The expedition which he now planned was intrusted to the command of John Ribault, of Dieppe, a brave man, of maritime experience, and a firm Protestant, and was attended by some of

(1) *Ensayo Cronologico*, 25, 26; Vega, l. vi. c. xxii.; Gomara, c. xlvi.; *Urbani Calvetonis de Gallorum in Floridam Expeditione Brevis Historia*, c. i., annexed to Nov. Nov. *Orbis Hist.* 432, 433; Eden and Willes, fol. 229; *De Bry's introduction and parergon to his Brevis Narratio eorum quae in Florida Gallis acciderunt*. *Thuani Hist.* l. xliv.

(2) *Gom.* c. xlvi.; *Vega*, l. vi. c. xxii.

(3) *Herrera's West Indies*, c. viii. in *Purchas*, iv. 868.

(4) *Bolvio à la Florida Champlain entrò en Quebec, &c.* *Ensayo Cronologico*, 179.

(5) *De Thou's Hist.* l. xvi. *Lery, Hist. Nav. in Bras.* An abridgment of the description, but not of the personal narrative, appears in *Purchas*, iv. 1325—1347. *L'Escarbot, N. F.* i. 143—214; *Southey's Brazil*, part i. c. ix.

the best of the young French nobility, as well as by veteran troops. The feeble Charles IX. conceded an ample commission, and the squadron set sail for the shores of North America. Desiring to establish their plantation in a genial clime, land was first made in the latitude of St. Augustine ; the fine river which we call the St. John's(1) was discovered, and named the River of May. It is the St. Matheo(2) of the Spaniards. The forests of mulberries were admired, and caterpillars readily mistaken for silkworms. The cape received a French name ; as the ships sailed along the coast, the numerous streams were called after the rivers of France ; and America, for a while, had its Seine, its Loire, and its Garonne. In searching for the Jordan or Combahee, they came upon Port Royal entrance,(3) which seemed the outlet of a magnificent river. The greatest ships of France and the argosies of Venice could ride securely in the deep water of the harbour. The site for a first settlement is apt to be injudiciously selected ; the local advantages which favour the growth of large cities are revealed by time. It was perhaps on Lemon Island that a monumental stone, engraved with the arms of France, was proudly raised ; and as the company looked round upon the immense oaks, which were venerable from the growth of centuries, the profusion of wild fowls, the groves of pine, the flowers so fragrant that the whole air was perfumed, they already regarded the country as a province of their native land. Ribault determined to leave a colony ; twenty-six composed the whole party, which was to keep possession of the continent. Fort Charles, the Carolina,(4) so called in honour of Charles IX. of France, first gave a name to the country, a century before it was occupied by the English. The name remained, though the early colony perished.(5)

Ribault and the ships arrived safely in France. But

(1) Compare the criticism of Holmes's Annals, i. 567.

(2) *Ensayo Cronologico*, p. 43.

(3) Laudonniere, in *Hakluyt*, iii. 373. The description is sufficiently minute and accurate; removing all doubt. Before the geography of the country was well known, there was room for the error of Charlevoix, *Nouv. Fr.* i. 25, who places the settlement at the mouth of the Edisto, an error which is followed by Chalmers, 513. It is no reproach to Charlevoix, that his geography of the coast of Florida is confused and inaccurate. Compare Johnson's *Life of Greene*, i. 477.

(4) *Munitio[n]em Carolinam, de regis nomine dictum.* De Thou, l. xliv. 531, edition of 1626.

(5) Hening, i. 552; and Thurloe, ii. 273, 274.

the fires of civil war had been kindled in all the provinces of the kingdom, and the promised reinforcements for Carolina were never levied. The situation of the French became precarious. The natives were friendly, but the soldiers themselves were insubordinate, and dissensions prevailed. The commandant at Carolina repressed the turbulent spirit with arbitrary cruelty, and lost his life in a mutiny which his ungovernable passion had provoked. The new commander succeeded in restoring order. But the love of his native land is a passion easily revived in the breast of a Frenchman ; and the company resolved to embark in such a brigantine as they could themselves construct. Intoxicated with joy at the thought of returning home, they neglected to provide sufficient stores ; and they were overtaken by famine at sea, with its attendant crimes. A small English bark at length boarded their vessel, and, setting the most feeble on shore upon the coast of France, carried the rest to the queen of England. Thus fell the first attempt of France in French Florida, near the southern confines of South Carolina. The country was still a desert.(1)

After the treacherous peace between Charles IX.
1564. and the Huguenots, Coligny renewed his solicitations for the colonization of Florida. The king gave consent ; three ships were conceded for the service ; and Laudonniere, who, in the former voyage, had been upon the American coast, a man of great intelligence, though a seaman rather than a soldier, was appointed to lead forth the colony. Emigrants readily appeared ; for the climate of Florida was so celebrated, that, according to rumour, the duration of human life was doubled under its genial influences ;(2) and men still dreamed of rich mines of gold in the interior. Coligny was desirous of obtaining accurate descriptions of the country ; and James le Moyne, called De Morgues, an ingenious painter, was commissioned to execute coloured drawings of the objects which might engage his curiosity. A voyage of sixty days brought the fleet, by the way of the Canaries and the Antilles, to the shores of Florida. The harbour of Port Royal, rendered gloomy by recollections of misery, was avoided ; and after

(1) Laudonniere, in Hakluyt, iii. 371—384. Compare Dé Thou, a contemporary, l. xliv. ; Charlevoix, N. Fr. i. 24—35 ; *Ensaya Cronologico*, 42—45 ; L'Escarbot, Nouv. Fr. i. 41—62.

(2) Dé Thou, l. xliv. ; Hakluyt, iv. 389.

searching the coast, and discovering places which were so full of amenity, that melancholy itself could not but change its humour as it gazed, the followers of Calvin planted themselves on the banks of the River May. They sung a psalm of thanksgiving, and gathered courage from acts of devotion. The fort now erected was also named Carolina. The result of this attempt to procure for France immense dominions at the south of our republic, through the agency of a Huguenot colony, has been very frequently narrated : (1) in the history of human nature it forms a dark picture of vindictive bigotry.

The French were hospitably welcomed by the natives ; a monument, bearing the arms of France, was crowned with laurels, and its base encircled with baskets of corn. What need is there of minutely relating the simple manners of the red men ; the dissensions of rival tribes ; the largesses offered to the strangers to secure their protection or their alliance ; the improvident prodigality with which careless soldiers wasted the supplies of food ; the certain approach of scarcity ; the gifts and the tribute levied from the Indians by entreaty, menace, or force ? By degrees the confidence of the natives was exhausted ; they had welcomed powerful guests, who promised to become their benefactors, and who now robbed their humble granaries.

But the worst evil in the new settlement was the character of the emigrants. Though patriotism and religious enthusiasm had prompted the expedition, the inferior class of the colonists was a motley group of dissolute men. Mutinies were frequent. The men were mad with the passion for sudden wealth ; and a party, under the pretence of desiring to escape from famine, compelled Laudonnier to sign an order, permitting their embarkation

(1) There are four original accounts by Eye-witnesses : Laudonnier, in Hakluyt, iii. 384—419 ; Le Moyne, in De Bry, part ii., together with the Epistola Supplicatoria, from the widows and orphans of the sufferers, to Charles IX. ; also in De Bry, part ii. ; Challus, or Challusius, of Dieppe, whose account I have found annexed to Calveto's Nov. Nov. Orb. Hist. under the title De Gallorum Expeditione in Floridam, 433—469 ; and the Spanish account by Solis de las Meras, the brother-in-law and apologist of Melendez, in Ensayo Cronologico, 85—90. On Solis, compare Crisis del Ensayo, 22, 23. I have drawn my narrative from a comparison of these four accounts ; consulting also the admirable De Thou, a genuine worshipper at the shrine of truth, l. xliv. ; the diffuse Barcia's Ensayo Cronologico, 42—94 ; the elaborate and circumstantial narrative of Charleroi, N. Fr. i. 24—106 ; and the account of L'Escarbot, i. 62—129. The accounts do not essentially vary. Voltaire and many others have repeated the tale.

for New Spain. No sooner were they possessed of this apparent sanction of the chief, than they equipped two vessels, and began a career of piracy against the Spaniards. Thus the French were the aggressors in the first act of hostility in the New World ; an act of crime and temerity which was soon avenged. The pirate vessel was taken, and most of the men disposed of as prisoners or slaves. A few escaped in a boat ; these could find no shelter but at Fort Carolina, where Laudonniere sentenced the ringleaders to death.

Meantime, the scarcity became extreme ; and the ^{1565.} friendship of the natives was entirely forfeited by unprofitable severity. March was gone, and there were no supplies from France ; April passed away, and the expected recruits had not arrived ; May came, but it brought nothing to sustain the hopes of the exiles. It was resolved to return to Europe in such miserable brigantines as despair could construct. Just then, Sir John Hawkins,(1) the slave merchant, arrived from the West Indies. He came fresh from the sale of a cargo of Africans, whom he had kidnapped with signal ruthlessness ; and he now displayed the most generous sympathy, not only furnishing a liberal supply of provisions, but relinquishing a vessel from his own fleet. Preparations were continued ; the colony was on the point of embarking, when sails were descried. Ribault had arrived to assume the command, bringing with him supplies of every kind, emigrants with their families, garden seeds, implements of husbandry, and the various kinds of domestic animals. The French, now wild with joy, seemed about to acquire a home, and Calvinism to become fixed in the inviting regions of Florida.

But Spain had never relinquished her claim to that territory ; where, if she had not planted colonies, she had buried many hundreds of her bravest sons. Should the proud Philip II. abandon a part of his dominions to France ? Should he suffer his commercial monopoly to be endangered by a rival settlement in the vicinity of the West Indies ? Should the bigoted Romanist permit the heresy of Calvinism to be planted in the neighbourhood of his Catholic provinces ? There had appeared at the Spanish court a bold commander well fitted for acts of reckless hostility. Pedro Melendez de Avilès had, in a long career of military service, become accustomed to scenes of blood ; and his natural ferocity had been con-

(1) Hawkins, in Hakluyt, iii. 615, 616.

firmed by his course of life. Often, as a naval officer, encountering pirates, he had become inured to acts of prompt and unsparing vengeance. He had acquired wealth in Spanish America, which was no school of benevolence; and his conduct there had provoked an inquiry, which, after a long arrest, ended in his conviction. The nature of his offences is not apparent; the justice of the sentence is confirmed, for the king, who knew him well, esteemed his bravery, and received him again into his service, remitted only a moiety of his fine. The heir of Melendez had been shipwrecked among the Bermudas; the father desired to return and search among the islands for tidings of his only son. Philip II. suggested the conquest and colonization of Florida; and a compact was soon framed and confirmed, by which Melendez, who desired an opportunity to retrieve his honour, was constituted the hereditary governor of a territory of almost unlimited extent.(1)

The terms of the compact (2) are curious. Melendez, on his part, promised, at his own cost, in the following May, to invade Florida with at least five hundred men; to complete its conquest within three years; to explore its currents and channels, the dangers of its coasts, and the depth of its havens; to establish a colony of at least five hundred persons, of whom one hundred should be married men; to introduce at least twelve ecclesiastics, besides four Jesuits. It was further stipulated, that he should transport to his province all kinds of domestic animals. The bigoted Philip II. had no scruples respecting slavery; Melendez contracted to import into Florida five hundred negro slaves. The sugar-cane was to become a staple of the country.

The king, in return, promised the adventurer various commercial immunities; the office of governor for life, with the right of naming his son-in-law as his successor; an estate of twenty-five square leagues in the immediate vicinity of the settlement; a salary of two thousand ducats, chargeable on the revenues of the province; and a fifteenth part of all royal perquisites.

Meantime, news arrived, as the French writers assert, through the treachery of the court of France, that the Huguenots had made a plantation in Florida, and that Ribault was preparing to set sail with reinforcements. The cry was raised that the heretics must be extirpated; the

(1) *Ensayo Cronolog.* 57—65.

(2) *Ibid.* 66.

enthusiasm of fanaticism was kindled, and Melendez readily obtained all the forces which he required. More than twenty-five hundred persons—soldiers, sailors, priests, Jesuits, married men with their families, labourers, and mechanics, and, with the exception of three hundred soldiers, all at the cost of Melendez—engaged in the invasion. After delays occasioned by a storm, the expedition set sail, and the trade-winds soon bore them rapidly across the Atlantic. A tempest scattered the fleet on its passage; it was with only one-third part of his forces that Melendez arrived at the harbour of St. John, in Porto Rico. But he esteemed celerity the secret of success; and, refusing to await the arrival of the rest of his squadron, he sailed for Florida. It had ever been his design to explore the coast; to select a favourable site for a fort or a settlement; and, after the construction of fortifications, to attack the French. It was on the day which the customs of Rome have consecrated to the memory of one of the most eloquent sons of Africa, and one of the most venerated of the fathers of the church, that he came in sight of Florida.(1) For four days he sailed along the coast, uncertain where the French were established; on the fifth day he landed, and gathered from the Indians accounts of the Huguenots. At the same time he discovered a fine haven and beautiful river; and remembering the saint on whose day he came upon the coast, he gave to the harbour and to the stream the name of St. Augustine.(2) Sailing, then, to the north, he discovered a portion of the French fleet, and observed the nature of the road where they were anchored. The French demanded his name and objects. “I am Melendez of Spain,” replied he; “sent with strict orders from my king to gibbet and behead all the Protestants in these regions. The Frenchman who is a Catholic I will spare; every heretic shall die.”(3) The French fleet, unprepared for action, cut its cables; the Spaniards, for some time, continued an ineffectual chase.

It was at the hour of vespers on the evening preceding the festival of the nativity of Mary that the Spaniards returned to the harbour of St. Augustine. At noonday of the festival itself, the governor went on shore to take

(1) *Ensayo Cronolog.* 68—70.

(2) *Ibid.* 71.

(3) *El que fuere herege, morirà.* *Ensayo Cronológico,* 75, 76. It is the account of the apologist and admirer of Melendez.

possession of the continent in the name of his king. The bigoted Philip II. was proclaimed monarch of all North America. The solemn mass of Our Lady was performed, and the foundation of St. Augustine was immediately laid.(1) It is, by more than forty years, the oldest town in the United States. Houses in it are yet standing which are said to have been built many years before Virginia was colonised.(2)

By the French it was debated whether they should improve their fortifications, and await the approach of the Spaniards, or proceed to sea and attack their enemy. Against the advice of his officers, Ribault resolved upon the latter course. Hardly had he left the harbour for the open sea, before there arose a fearful storm, which continued till October, and wrecked every ship of the French fleet on the Florida coast. The vessels were dashed against the rocks about fifty leagues south of Fort Carolina ; most of the men escaped with their lives.

The Spanish ships also suffered, but not so severely ; and the troops of St. Augustine were entirely safe. They knew that the French settlement was left in a defenceless state ; with a fanatical indifference to toil, Melendez led his men through the lakes, and marshes, and forests, that divided the St. Augustine from the St. Johns, and, with a furious onset, surprised the weak garrison, who had looked only towards the sea for the approach of danger. After a short contest the Spaniards were masters of the fort. A scene of carnage ensued ; soldiers, women, children, the aged, the sick, were alike massacred. The Spanish account asserts that Melendez ordered women and young children to be spared ; yet not till after the havoc had long been raging.

Nearly two hundred persons were killed. A few escaped into the woods, among them Laudonniere, Challus, and Le Moyne, who have related the horrors of the scene. But whither should they fly ? Death met them in the woods ; and the heavens, the earth, the sea, and men, all seemed conspired against them. Should they surrender, appealing to the sympathy of their conquerors ? "Let us," said Challus, "trust in the mercy of God rather than of these men." A few gave themselves up, and were immediately

(1) Laudonniere : "They put their soldiers, victual, and munition on land." Hakluyt, iii. 433. *Ensayo Cronologico*, 76, 77. Prince Murat, in Am. Q. Rev. ii. 216. De Thou, I. xliv.

(2) Stoddard's Sketches, 120.

murdered. The others, after the severest sufferings, found their way to the sea-side, and were received on board two small French vessels which had remained in the harbour. The Spaniards, angry that any should have escaped, insulted the corpses of the dead with wanton barbarity.

The victory had been gained on the festival of St. Matthew ; and hence the Spanish name of the River May. After the carnage was completed, mass was said, a cross was raised, and the site for a church selected, on ground still smoking with the blood of a peaceful colony. So willingly is the human mind the dupe of its prejudices ; so easily can fanaticism connect acts of savage ferocity with the rites of a merciful religion.

The shipwrecked men were, in their turn, soon discovered. They were in a state of helpless weakness, wasted by their fatigues at sea, half famished, destitute of water and of food. Should they surrender to the Spaniards ? Melendez invited them to rely on his compassion ; (1) the French capitulated, and were received among the Spaniards in such successive divisions as a boat could at once ferry across the intervening river. As the captives stepped upon the bank which their enemies occupied, their hands were tied behind them ; and in this way they were marched towards St. Augustine, like a flock of sheep driven to the slaughter-house. As they approached the fort a signal was given ; and, amidst the sound of trumpets and drums, the Spaniards fell upon the unhappy men who had confided in their humanity, and who could offer no resistance. A few Catholics were spared, some mechanics were reserved as slaves, the rest were massacred, "not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans." The whole number of the victims of bigotry, here and at the fort, is said, by the French, to have been about nine hundred ; (2) the Spanish accounts diminish the number of the slain, but not the atrocity of the deed. Melendez returned to Spain, impoverished, but triumphant. The French government heard of the outrage with apathy, and made not even a remonstrance on the ruin of a colony, which, if it had been protected, would have given to its country a flourishing empire in the south, before England had planted a single spot on the

(1) So says his apologist. Si ellos quieren entregarle las Vanderas, è las armas, è ponerse en su misericordia, lo pueden hacer, para que él haga de ellos lo que Dios le diere de gracia. Is not this an implied promise of mercy.

(2) Epist. Sup. in De Bry. ii.

new continent. History has been more faithful, and has assisted humanity by giving to the crime of Melendez an infamous notoriety. The first town in the United States sprung from the unrelenting bigotry of the Spanish king. We admire the rapid growth of our larger cities; the sudden transformation of portions of the wilderness into blooming states. St. Augustine presents a stronger contrast, in its transition from the bigoted policy of Philip II. to the American principles of religious liberty. Its origin should be carefully remembered, for it is a fixed point, from which to measure the liberal influence of time, the progress of modern civilization, the victories of the American mind in its contests for the interests of humanity.

The Huguenots and the French nation did not share
1567. the indifference of the Court. Dominic de Gourgues, a bold soldier of Gascony, whose life had been a series of adventures, now employed in the army against Spain, now a prisoner and a galley-slave among the Spaniards, taken by the Turks with the vessel in which he rowed, and redeemed by the commander of the knights of Malta —burned with a desire to avenge his own wrongs and the honour of his country. The sale of his property, and the contributions of his friends, furnished the means of equipping three ships, in which, with one hundred and fifty men, he embarked for Florida, not to found a colony, but only to destroy and revenge. He surprised two forts near
1568. the mouth of the St. Matheo; and, as terror magnified the number of his followers, the consternation of the Spaniards enabled him to gain possession of the larger establishment, near the spot which the French colony had occupied. Too weak to maintain his position, he, in May, 1565, hastily weighed anchor for Europe, having first hanged his prisoners upon the trees, and placed over them the inscription, "I do not this as unto Spaniards or mariners, but as unto traitors, robbers, and murderers." (1) The natives, who had been ill-treated both by the Spaniards and the French, enjoyed the consolation of seeing their enemies butcher one another.

The attack of the fiery Gascon was but a passing storm. France disavowed the expedition, and relinquished all pretension to Florida. Spain grasped at it as a portion of

(1) I owe to R. Biddle, the biographer of Cabot, a manuscript copy of the record of these events, preserved in the family of De Gourges, and another from the Royal Library at Paris.

her dominions ; and, if discovery could confer a right, her claim was founded in justice. Cuba now formed the centre of her West Indian possessions, and everything around it was included within her empire. Sovereignty was asserted, not only over the archipelagos within the tropics, but over the whole continent round the inner seas. From the remotest south-eastern cape of the Caribbean, along the whole shore to the Cape of Florida, and beyond it, all was hers. The Gulf of Mexico lay embosomed within her territories.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLAND TAKES POSSESSION OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE attempts of the French to colonize Florida, though unprotected and unsuccessful, were not without an important influence on succeeding events. About the time of the return of De Gourgues, Walter Raleigh,(1) a young Englishman, had abruptly left the university of Oxford, to take part in the civil contests between the Huguenots and the Catholics in France, and, with the prince of Navarre, afterwards Henry IV., was learning the art of war under the veteran Coligny. The Protestant party was, at that time, strongly excited with indignation at the massacre which De Gourgues had avenged ; and Raleigh could not but gather from his associates and his commander intelligence respecting Florida and the navigation to those regions. Some of the miserable men who escaped from the first expedition, had been conducted to Elizabeth,(2) and had kindled in the public mind in England a desire for the possession of the southern coast of our republic ; the reports of Hawkins,(3) who had been the benefactor of the French on the River May, increased the national excitement ; and De Morgues,(4) the painter, who had sketched in Florida the most remarkable appearances of nature, ultimately found the opportunity of finishing his designs, through the munificence of Raleigh.

(1) Oldys's Raleigh, 16, 17. Tytler's Raleigh, 19—23.

(2) Hakluyt, iii. 384. (3) Ibid. iii. 612—617.

(4) Ibid. iii. 364. Compare a marginal note to iii. 425.

The progress of English maritime enterprise had prepared the way for vigorous efforts at colonization. The second expedition of the Cabots was, as we have seen, connected with plans for settlements. Other commissions, for the same object, were issued by Henry VII.

In the patent, which an American historian has recently published,(1) the design of establishing emigrants in the New World is distinctly proposed, and encouraged by the concession of a limited monopoly of the colonial trade and of commercial privileges. It is probable that at least one voyage was made under the authority of this commission; for in the year after 1502, it was granted, natives of North America, in their wild attire, were exhibited to the public wonder of England.(2)

Yet if a voyage was actually made, its success was inconsiderable. A new patent,(3) with larger concessions, was issued, in part to the same patentees; and there is reason to believe, that the king now favoured by gratuities(4) the expedition, which no longer appeared to promise any considerable returns. Where no profits followed adventure, navigation soon languished. Yet the connection between England and the New-Found Land was never abandoned. Documentary evidence exists of voyages(5) favoured by the English, till the time when the Normans, the Biscayans, and the Bretons began to frequent the fisheries on the American coast. Is it probable that English mariners ever wholly resigned to a rival nation the benefits arising from their own discoveries?

Nor was the reign of Henry VIII. unfavourable to the mercantile interest of his kingdom; and that monarch, while his life was still unstained by profligacy, and his passions not yet hardened into the stubborn selfishness of despotism, considered the discovery of the north as his "charge and duty," and made such experiments as the favourable situation of England appeared to demand.(6) An account has already been given of the last voyage of discovery in which Sebastian Cabot was personally engaged for his native land. Is it not probable, that other expeditions were made, with the

(1) Memoir of Cabot, 306—314.

(2) Stow, An. 1502, 483, 484.

(3) Rymer's Foedera, xiii. 37—42. Bacon's Henry VII.

(4) Mem. of Cabot, 226. Note.

(5) Ibid. 229, 230.

(6) Thorne's letter, in 1527, to Henry VIII., in Hakluyt, i. 236.

favour of King Henry and of Wolsey, although no distinct account of them has been preserved? Of 1527. one such voyage for the discovery of a north-west passage, there exists a relation,(1) written by Rut, the commander of one of the ships, and forwarded from the haven of St. John, in Newfoundland. This implies a direct and established intercourse between England and the American coast. Some part of the country was explored; for the English never abandoned the hope of planting a colony on the continent which Cabot had discovered.

The jealousy of the Spanish nation was excited, and already began to fear English rivalry in the New World.(2) Henry VIII. was vigorous in his attempts to check piracy; and the navigation of his subjects was extended under the security of his protection. The banner of St. George was often displayed in the harbours of Northern Africa and in the Levant;(3) and when commerce, emancipated from the confinement of the inner seas, went boldly forth to make the ocean its chief highway, England became more emulous to engage in a competition, in which her position gave her a pledge of success. When voyages for traffic were already made 1530. by English merchants between the coasts of Africa and Brazil, it may be safely believed that the nearer shores of North America were not neglected.

An account exists of one expedition, which was conducted by Hore, and "assisted by the good countenance of Henry VIII." But the incidents, as they were related to the inquisitive Hakluyt, by "the only man then alive that had been in the discovery," are embellished with improbable aggravations of distress. Memory, at all periods of life, is easily deceived by the imagination; and men who relate marvellous tales of personal adventure, are the first to become the dupes of their own inventions. The old sailor, perhaps, believed his story, in which frequent repetition may have gradually deepened the 1536. shades of horror. Cannibalism is the crime of famine at sea; men do not often devour one another on shore, least of all on a coast abounding in wild fowl and

(1) Purchas, iii. 809. Hakluyt, iii. 167, 168. Mem. of S. Cabot, part ii. c. ix.

(2) Herrera, d. ii. l. v. c. iii. Compare Oviedo, l. xix. c. xiii. in Ramusio, iii. fol. 204.

(3) Hill's Naval History, 267.

fish. The English may have suffered from want ; and as a French ship, "well furnished with vittails," approached Newfoundland, they obtained possession of it by a stroke of "policie," which, if dishonest, seems not to have been regarded as disgraceful, and set sail for England. The French followed in the English ship, and complained of the exchange. It shows the favour of Henry VIII. to maritime enterprise, that he pardoned his subjects the wrong, and of his own private purse "made full and royal recompense to the French."(1)

The statute-books of England soon gave proof that 1541. the "new land" of America had engaged the attention of Parliament ;(2) and, after the accession of Edward, the fisheries of Newfoundland obtained the protection of 1548. a special Act.(3) The preamble to this latter statute declares the navigation to have been burdened for years by exactions from the officers of the Admiralty : and its enactments forbid the continuance of the oppression. An active commerce must have long existed, since exactions, levied upon it, had almost become prescriptive.

But India was still esteemed the great region of wealth ; and England, then having no anticipation of one day becoming the sovereign of Hindostan, hoped for a peaceful intercourse only by the discovery of a new and nearer avenue to Southern Asia. Thrice, at least,—perhaps thrice by Cabot alone,—the attempt at a north-western passage had been made, and always in vain. A 1553. north-east course was now proposed ; the fleet of Willoughby and Chancellor was to reach the rich lands of Cathay by doubling the northern promontory of Lapland. The ships parted company. The fate of Willoughby was as tragical as the issue of the voyage of Chancellor was successful. The admiral, with one of the ships, was driven, by the severity of the polar autumn, to seek shelter in a Lapland harbour, which afforded protection against storms, but not against the rigours of the season. When search was made for him in the following spring, Willoughby 1554. himself was found dead in his cabin ; and his journal, detailing his sufferings from the polar winter, was complete probably to the day when his senses were suspended by the intolerable cold. His ship's company lay dead in

(1) Hakluyt, iii. 168—170.

(2) 33 Henry VIII. c. ii. Ruffhead, ii. 304.

(3) Edward VI. in Ruffhead, ii. 412. Hakluyt, iii. 170. Hazard, i. 22, 23.

various parts of the vessel,—some alone, some in groups. The other ship reached the harbour of Archangel. This was “the discovery of Russia,” and the commencement of maritime commerce with that empire. A Spanish writer calls the result of the voyage “a discovery of new Indies.”(1) The Russian nation, one of the oldest and least mixed in Europe, now awakening from a long lethargy, emerged into political distinction. We have seen that, about eleven years from this time, the first town in the United States’ territory was permanently built. So rapid are the changes on the theatre of nations! One of the leading powers of the age, about two and a half centuries ago became known to Western Europe; another had not then one white man within its limits.

The principle of joint-stock companies, so favourable to every enterprise of uncertain result, by dividing the risks, and by nourishing a spirit of emulous zeal in behalf of an inviting scheme, was applied to the purposes of navigation;^{1555.} and a company of merchant adventurers was incorporated for the discovery of unknown lands.(2)

¹⁵⁵³⁻ For even the intolerance of Queen Mary could not ^{1553.} check the passion for maritime adventure. The sea was becoming the element on which English valour was to display its greatest boldness; the English sailors neither feared the sultry heats and consuming fevers of the tropics, nor the intense severity of northern cold. The trade to Russia, now that the port of Archangel had been discovered, gradually increased, and became very ^{1553.} lucrative; and a regular and as yet an innocent ^{1554.} commerce was carried on with Africa.(3) The marriage of Mary with the King of Spain tended to excite the emulation which it was designed to check. The enthusiasm awakened by the brilliant pageantry with which King Philip was introduced into London, excited Richard Eden(4) to gather into a volume the history of the most memorable maritime expeditions. Religious restraints, the thirst for rapid wealth, the desire of strange adventure, had driven the boldest spirits of Spain to the New World; their deeds had been commemorated by the copious and accurate details of the Spanish historians;

(1) Hakluyt, i. 251—284. Turner’s England, iii. 298—301. Purchas, iii. 462, 463.

(2) Hakluyt, i. 298—304.

(3) The Viage to Guinea in 1553, in Eden and Willes, fol. 336, 337—353.

(4) Eden’s Decades, published in 1555.

and the English, through the alliance of their sovereign, made familiar with the Spanish language and literature, became emulous of Spanish success beyond the ocean.

The firmness of Elizabeth seconded the enterprise ^{1558.} of her subjects. They were rendered the more proud and intractable for the short and unsuccessful effort to make England an appendage to Spain ; and the triumph of Protestantism, quickening the spirit of nationality, gave a new impulse to the people. England, no longer the ally, but the antagonist of Philip, claimed the glory of being the mistress of the northern seas, and prepared to extend its commerce to every clime. The queen strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England : she animated the adventurers to Russia and to Africa by her special protection ; ¹⁵⁶¹⁻ and while her subjects were endeavouring to penetrate ^{1568.} into Persia by land, and enlarge their commerce with the East(1) by combining the use of ships and caravans, the harbours of Spanish America were at the same time visited by their privateers in pursuit of the rich ¹⁵⁷⁴⁻ galleons of Spain, and at least from thirty to fifty ^{1578.} English ships came annually to the bays and banks of Newfoundland.(2)

The possibility of effecting a north-west passage had ever been maintained by Cabot. The study of geography had now become an interesting pursuit : the press teemed with books of travels, maps, and descriptions of the earth ; and Sir Humphrey Gilbert, reposing from the toils of war, engaged deeply in the science of cosmography. A judicious and well-written argument (3) in favour of the possibility of a north-western passage was the fruit of his literary industry.

The same views were entertained by one of the boldest men who ever ventured upon the ocean. For fifteen years, Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, well versed in various navigation, had revolved the design of accomplishing the discovery of the north-western passage ; esteeming it "the only thing of the world, that was yet left undone, by which a notable minde might be made famous and fortunate."(4) Too poor himself to provide a

(1) Eden and Willes. *The Voyages of Persia*, traveiled by the Merchantes of London, &c. in 1561, 1567, 1568, fol. 321, and ff.

(2) Parkhurst, in *Hakluyt*, iii. 171.

(3) *Hakluyt*, iii. 32—47.

(4) Best, in *Hakluyt*, iii. 86.

ship, it was in vain that he conferred with friends; in vain he offered his services to merchants. After years of desire, his representations found a hearing at court; and Dudley, Earl of Warwick, liberally promoted his design.(1) Two small barks of twenty-five and of twenty tons, with a pinnace of ten tons burden, composed the whole fleet, which was to enter gulfs that none but Cabot had visited. As they dropped down the Thames, Queen Elizabeth waved her hand in token of favour, and, by an honourable message, transmitted her approbation of an adventure which her own treasures had not contributed to advance. During a storm on the voyage, the pinnace was swallowed up by the sea; the mariners in the *Michael* became terrified, and turned their prow homewards; but Frobisher, in a vessel not much surpassing in tonnage the barge of a man-of-war, made his way, fearless and unattended, to the shores of Labrador, and to a passage or inlet north of the entrance of Hudson's Bay. A strange perversion has transferred the scene of his discoveries to the eastern coast of Greenland;(2) it was among a group of American islands, in the latitude of sixty-three degrees and eight minutes, that he entered what seemed to be a strait. Hope suggested that his object was obtained; that the land on the south was America; on the north was the continent of Asia; and that the strait opened into the immense Pacific. Great praise is due to Frobisher, even though he penetrated less deeply than Cabot into the bays and among the islands of this *Meta Incognita*, this unknown goal of discovery. Yet his voyage was a failure. To land upon an island, and, perhaps, on the main; to gather up stones and rubbish, in token of having taken possession of the country for Elizabeth: to seize one of the natives of the north for exhibition to the gaze of Europe;—these were all the results which he accomplished.

What followed marks the insane passions of the age.

^{1577.} America and mines were always thought of together. A stone, which had been brought from the frozen regions, was pronounced by the refiners of London to contain gold. The news excited the wakeful avarice of the city: there

(1) Willes's *Essay for M. Frobisher's voyage*, in *Eden and Willes*, fol. 230, and ff.; in *Hakluyt*, iii. 47—52.

(2) Forster's *Northern Voyages*, 274—284; *Hist. des Voyages*, t. xv. 94—100.

were not wanting those who endeavoured to purchase of Elizabeth a lease of the new lands, of which the loose minerals were so full of the precious metal. A fleet was immediately fitted out, to procure more of the gold, rather than to make any further research for the passage into the Pacific; and the queen, who had contributed nothing to the voyage of discovery, sent a large ship of her own to join the expedition, which was now to conduct to infinite opulence. More men than could be employed volunteered their services: those who were discharged resigned their brilliant hopes with reluctance. The mariners, having received the communion, embarked for the arctic El Dorado, "and with a merrie wind" soon arrived at the Orkneys. As they reached the north-eastern coast of America, the dangers of the polar seas became imminent; mountains of ice encompassed them on every side; but as the icebergs were brilliant in the high latitude with the light of an almost perpetual summer's day, the worst perils were avoided. Yet the mariners were alternately agitated with fears of shipwreck and joy at escape. At one moment they expected death; and at the next they looked for gold. The fleet made no discoveries; it did not advance so far as Frobisher alone had done.⁽¹⁾ But it found large heaps of earth, which, even to the incredulous, seemed plainly to contain the coveted wealth; besides, spiders abounded; and "spiders were" affirmed to be "true signs of great store of gold."⁽²⁾ In freighting the ships, the admiral himself toiled like a painful labourer. How strange, in human affairs, is the mixture of sublime courage and ludicrous folly! What bolder maritime enterprise than, in that day, a voyage to lands lying north of Hudson's Straits! What folly more egregious, than to have gone there for a lading of useless earth!

But credulity is apt to be self-willed. What is there which the passion for gold will not prompt? It defies danger, and laughs at obstacles; it resists loss, and anticipates treasures; unrelenting in its pursuit, it is deaf to the voice of mercy, and blind to the cautions of judgment;

it can penetrate the prairies of Arkansas, and covet
^{1573.} the moss-grown barrens of the Esquimaux. I have now to relate the first attempt of the English, under the

(1) Best, in Hakluyt, iii. 95.

(2) Settle, in Hakluyt, iii. 63. How rich, then, the alcoves of a library!

patronage of Elizabeth, to plant an establishment in America.(1)

It was believed that the rich mines of the polar regions would countervail the charges of a costly adventure ; the hope of a passage to Cathay increased ; and for the security of the newly-discovered lands, soldiers and discreet men were selected to become their inhabitants. A magnificent fleet of fifteen sail was assembled, in part at the expense of Elizabeth ; the sons of the English gentry embarked as volunteers ; one hundred persons were chosen to form the colony, which was to secure to England a country more desirable than Peru, a country too inhospitable to produce a tree or a shrub, yet where gold lay, not charily concealed in mines, but glistening in heaps upon the surface. Twelve vessels were to return immediately with cargoes of the ore ; three were ordered to remain and aid the settlement. The north-west passage was now become of less consideration ; Asia itself could not vie with the riches of this hyperborean archipelago.

But the entrance to these wealthy islands was rendered difficult by frost ; and the fleet of Frobisher, as it now approached the American coast, was bewildered among immense icebergs, which were so vast, that, as they melted, torrents poured from them in sparkling waterfalls. One vessel was crushed and sunk, though the men on board were saved. In the dangerous mists, the ships lost their course, and came into the straits which have since been called Hudson's, and which lie south of the imagined gold regions. The admiral believed himself able to sail through to the Pacific, and resolve the doubt respecting the passage. But his duty as a mercantile agent controlled his desire of glory as a navigator. He struggled to regain the harbour where his vessels were to be laden ; and, after encountering peril of every kind ; "getting in at one gap and out at another ;" escaping only by miracle from hidden rocks and unknown currents, ice, and a lee shore, which was, at one time, avoided only by a prosperous breath of wind in the very moment of extreme danger,—he at last arrived at the haven in the Countess of Warwick's Sound. The zeal of the volunteer colonists had moderated ; and the disheartened sailors were ready to mutiny. One ship, laden with provisions for the colony, deserted and returned ; and an island was dis-

(1) Hakluyt, iii. 71—73.

covered with enough of the black ore "to suffice all the gold-gluttons of the world." The plan of the settlement was abandoned. It only remained to freight the home-bound ships with a store of minerals. They who engage in a foolish project, combine, in case of failure, to conceal their loss ; for a confession of the truth would be an impeachment of their judgment ; so that unfortunate speculations are promptly consigned to oblivion. The adventurers and the historians of the voyage are silent about the disposition which was made of the cargo of the fleet. The knowledge of the seas was not extended ; the credulity of avarice met with a rebuke ; and the belief in regions of gold among the Esquimaux was dissipated ; but there remained a firm conviction, that a passage to the Pacific Ocean might yet be threaded among the icebergs and northern islands of America.(1)

While Frobisher was thus attempting to obtain wealth and fame on the north-east coast of America, the western limits of the territory of the United States became known. 1577- Embarking on a voyage in quest of fortune, Francis 1580. Drake acquired immense treasures as a freebooter in the Spanish harbours on the Pacific, and, having laden his ship with spoils, gained for himself enduring glory by circumnavigating the globe. But before following in the path which the ship of Magellan had thus far alone dared to pursue, Drake determined to explore the north-western coast of America, in the hope of discovering the strait which connects the oceans. With this view, he crossed the equator, sailed beyond the peninsula of California, and followed the continent to the latitude of forty-three degrees, corresponding to the latitude of the southern borders of New Hampshire.(2) Here the cold seemed 1579. intolerable to men who had just left the tropics. Despairing of success, he retired to a harbour in a milder latitude, within the limits of Mexico ; and, having refitted his ship, and named the country New Albion, he sailed for England, through the seas of Asia. Thus was the southern part of the Oregon territory first visited by

Englishmen, yet not till after a voyage of the Spanish 1542. from Acapulco, commanded by Cabrillo, a Portuguese, had traced the American continent to within two

(1) On Frobisher, consult the original accounts of Hall, Settle, Ellis, and Best, with R. Hakluyt's instructions, in *Hak.* iii. 52-129.

(2) Course of Sir Francis Drake, in *Hak.* iii. 524; Johnson's Life of Drake.

and a-half degrees of the mouth of Columbia River ;(1) while, thirteen years after the voyage of Drake,
^{1593.} John de Fuca, a mariner from the Isles of Greece, then in the employ of the viceroy of Mexico, sailed into the bay which is now known as the Gulf of Georgia, and, having for twenty days steered through its intricate windings and numerous islands, returned with a belief, that the entrance to the long-desired passage into the Atlantic had been found.(2)

The lustre of the name of Drake is borrowed from his success. In itself, this part of his career was but a splendid piracy against a nation with which his sovereign and his country professed to be at peace. Oxenham, a subordinate officer, who had ventured to imitate his master, was taken by the Spaniards and hanged ; nor was his punishment either unexpected or censured in England as severe. The exploits of Drake, except so far as they nourished a love for maritime affairs, were injurious to commerce ; the minds of the sailors were debauched by a passion for sudden acquisitions ; and to receive regular wages seemed base and unmanly, when, at the easy peril of life, there was hope of boundless plunder. Commerce and colonization rest on regular industry ; the humble labour of the English fishermen, who now frequented the Grand Bank, bred mariners for the navy of their country, and prepared the way for its settlements in the New World. Already four hundred vessels came annually from the harbours of Portugal and Spain, of France and England, to the shores of Newfoundland. The English were not there in such numbers as other nations, for they still frequented the fisheries of Iceland ; but yet they "were commonly lords in the harbours," and in the arrogance of naval supremacy, exacted payment for protection.(3) It is an incident honourable to the humanity of the early voyagers, that, on one of the American islands, not far from the fishing stations, hogs and horned cattle were purposely left, that they might multiply and become a resource to some future generation of colonists.(4)

(1) Forster's Northern Voyages, b. iii. c. iv. s. ii. Humboldt, Nouv. Esp. ii. 436, 437. Compare Viage de las Goletas Sutil y Mexicana, 34, 36, 37.

(2) Purchas, iv. 849—852. Forster is sceptical, b. iii. c. iv. s. iv. Belknap's Am. Biog. i. 224—230.

(3) See the letter of Ant. Parkhurst, who had himself been for four years engaged in the Newfoundland trade, in Hakluyt, iii. 170—174.

(4) Hakluyt, iii. 197.

While the queen and her adventurers were dazzled by the glittering prospects of mines of gold in the frozen regions of the remote north, Sir Humphrey Gilbert, with a sounder judgment and a better knowledge, watched the progress of the fisheries, and formed healthy plans for colonization. He had been a soldier and a member of Parliament. He was a judicious writer on navigation ; (1) and though censured for his ignorance of the principles of liberty, (2) he was esteemed for the sincerity of his piety. He was one of those who alike despise fickleness and fear ; danger never turned him aside from the pursuit of honour or the service of his sovereign ; for he knew that death is inevitable, and the fame of virtue immortal. (3) It was not difficult for Gilbert to obtain a liberal patent, (4) formed according to commercial theories of that day, and to be of perpetual efficacy, if a plantation should be established within six years. To the people who might belong to his colony, the rights of Englishmen were promised ; to Gilbert, the possession for himself or his assigns of the soil which he might discover, and the sole jurisdiction, both civil and criminal, of the territory within two hundred leagues of his settlement, with supreme executive and legislative authority. Thus the attempts at colonization, in which Cabot and Frobisher had failed, were renewed under a patent that conferred every immunity on the leader of the enterprise, and abandoned the colonists themselves to the mercy of an absolute proprietary.

Under this patent Gilbert began to collect a company of volunteer adventurers, contributing largely from his own fortune to the preparation. Jarrings and divisions ensued before the voyage was begun ; many abandoned what they had inconsiderately undertaken ; the general and a few of his assured friends—among them, perhaps, his step-^{1579.} brother, Walter Raleigh—put to sea ; one of his ships was lost, and misfortune compelled the remainder to return. (5) The vagueness of the accounts of this expedition is ascribed to a conflict with a Spanish fleet, of which the issue was unfavourable to the little squadron of emigrants. (6) Gilbert attempted to keep his patent alive by

(1) Hakluyt, iii. 32—47.

(2) D'Ewes's Journal, 168 and 175.

(3) Gilbert, in Hakluyt, iii. 47.

(4) The patent may be found in Hakluyt, iii. 174—176; Stith's Virginia, 4, 5, 6; Hazard, i. 24—28.

(5) Hayes, in Hakluyt, iii. 186.

(6) Oldys, 28, 29. Tytler, 26, 27.

making grants of lands. None of his assigns succeeded in establishing a colony, and he was himself too much impoverished to renew his efforts.

But the pupil of Coligny was possessed of an active genius, which delighted in hazardous adventure. To prosecute discoveries in the New World, lay the foundation of states, and acquire immense domains, appeared to the daring enterprise of Raleigh as easy designs, which would not interfere with the pursuit of favour and the career of glory in England. Before the limit of the charter had expired, Gilbert, assisted by his brother, equipped a new squadron. The fleet embarked under happy omens; the commander, on the eve of his departure, received from Elizabeth a golden anchor guided by a lady, a token of the queen's regard; a man of letters from Hungary accompanied the expedition; and some part of the United States would have then been colonized, had not the unhappy projector of the design been overwhelmed by a succession of disasters. Two days after leaving Plymouth, the largest ship in the fleet, which had been furnished by Raleigh, who himself remained in England, deserted, under a pretence of infectious disease, and returned into harbour. Gilbert was incensed, but not intimidated. He sailed for Newfoundland; and, entering St. John's, he summoned the Spaniards and Portuguese, and other strangers, to witness the feudal ceremonies by which he took possession of the country for his sovereign. A pillar, on which the arms of England were infixed, was raised as a monument; and lands were granted to the fishermen in fee, on condition of the payment of a quit-rent. The "mineral-man" of the expedition, an honest and religious Saxon, was especially diligent; it was generally agreed that "the mountains made a show of mineral substance;" the Saxon protested on his life that silver ore abounded; he was charged to keep the discovery a profound secret; and, as there were so many foreign vessels in the vicinity, the precious ore was carried on board the larger ship with such mystery, that the dull Portuguese and Spaniards suspected nothing of the matter.

It was not easy for Gilbert to preserve order in the little fleet. Many of the mariners, infected with the vices which at that time degraded their profession, were no better than pirates, and were perpetually bent upon pilaging whatever ships fell in their way. At length, having

abandoned one of their barks, the English, now in three vessels only, sailed on further discoveries, intending to visit the coast of the United States. But they had not proceeded towards the south beyond the latitude of Wiscasset, when the largest ship, from the carelessness of the crew, struck and was wrecked. Nearly a hundred men perished; the "mineral-man" and the ore were all lost; nor was it possible to rescue Parmenius, the Hungarian scholar, who should have been the historian of the expedition.

It now seemed necessary to hasten to England. Gilbert had sailed in the *Squirrel*, a bark of ten tons only, and therefore convenient for entering harbours and approaching the coast. On the homeward voyage the brave admiral would not forsake his little company, with whom he had encountered so many storms and perils. A desperate resolution! The weather was extremely rough; the oldest mariner had never seen "more outrageous seas." The little frigate, not more than twice as large as the long-boat of a merchantman, "too small a bark to pass through the ocean sea at that season of the year," was nearly wrecked. The general, sitting abaft with a book in his hand, cried out to those in the *Hind*, "We are as neere to Heaven by sea as by land." That same night, about twelve o'clock, the lights of the *Squirrel* suddenly disappeared; and neither the vessel nor any of its crew, was ever again seen. The *Hind* reached Falmouth in safety.(1)

The bold spirit of Raleigh was not disheartened by ^{1584.} the sad fate of his step-brother; but his mind resolved a settlement in a milder climate; and he was determined to secure to England those delightful countries from which the Protestants of France had been expelled. Having presented a memorial, he readily obtained from Elizabeth a patent (2) as ample as that which had been conferred on Gilbert. It was drawn according to the principles of feudal law, and with strict regard to the Christian faith, as professed in the Church of England. Raleigh was constituted a lord proprietary, with almost unlimited powers; holding his territories by homage and an inconsiderable rent, and possessing jurisdiction over an extensive region,

(1) On Gilbert, see Hayes, in Hakluyt, iii. 184—203; Parmenius to Hakluyt, iii. 203—205; Clark's Relation, ibid. 206—208; Gilbert to Peckham, in Purchas, iii. 808; Raleigh to Gilbert, in Tytler's Raleigh, 45.

(2) Hakluyt, iii. 297—301. Hazard, i. 33—38.

of which he had power to make grants according to his pleasure.

Expectations rose high, since the balmy regions of the south were now to be colonized ; and the terrors of icy seas were forgotten in the hope of gaining a province in a clime of perpetual fertility, where winter hardly intruded to check the productiveness of nature. Two vessels, well laden with men and provisions, under the command of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow, buoyant with hope, set sail for the New World. They pursued the circuitous route by the Canaries and the islands of the West Indies ; after a short stay in those islands, they sailed for the north, and were soon opposite the shores of Carolina. As they drew near land, the fragrance was “as if they had been in the midst of some delicate garden, abounding with all kinds of odoriferous flowers.” They ranged the coast for a distance of one hundred and twenty miles, in search of a convenient harbour ; they entered the first haven which offered, and, after thanks to God for their safe arrival, they landed to take possession of the country for the queen of England.

The spot on which this ceremony was performed was in the island of Wocoken, the southernmost of the islands forming Ocracock Inlet. The shores of North Carolina, at some periods of the year, cannot safely be approached by a fleet, from the hurricanes which sweep the air in those regions, and against which the formation of the coast offers no secure roadsteads and harbours. But in the month of July the sea was tranquil, the skies were clear, no storms were gathering, the air was agitated by none but the gentlest breezes, and the English commanders were in raptures with the beauty of the ocean, seen in the magnificence of repose, gemmed with islands, and expanding in the clearest transparency from cape to cape. The vegetation of that southern latitude struck the beholders with admiration ; the trees had not their paragons in the world ; the luxuriant vines, as they clambered up the loftiest cedars, formed graceful festoons ; grapes were so plenty upon every little shrub, that the surge of the ocean, as it lazily rolled in upon the shore with the quiet winds of summer, dashed its spray upon the clusters ; and natural arbours formed an impervious shade, that not a ray of the suns of July could penetrate. The forests were filled with birds ; and, at the discharge of an arque-

buss, whole flocks would arise, uttering a cry, which the many echoes redoubled, till it seemed as if an army of men had shouted together.

The gentleness of the tawny inhabitants appeared in harmony with the loveliness of the scene. The desire of traffic overcame the timidity of the natives, and the English received a friendly welcome. On the Island of Roanoke they were entertained by the wife of Granganimeo, father of Wingina, the king, with the refinements of Arcadian hospitality. "The people were most gentle, loving, and faithful, void of all guile and treason, and such as lived after the manner of the golden age." They had no cares but to guard against the moderate cold of a short winter, and to gather such food as the earth almost spontaneously produced. And yet it was added, with singular want of comparison, that the wars of these guileless men were cruel and bloody; that domestic dissensions had almost exterminated whole tribes; that they employed the basest stratagems against their enemies; and that the practice of inviting men to a feast, that they might be murdered in the hour of confidence, was not merely a device of European bigots, but was known to the natives of Secotan. The English, too, were solicited to engage in a similar enterprise, under promise of lucrative booty.

The adventurers were satisfied with observing the general aspect of the New World; no extensive examination of the coast was undertaken; Pamlico and Albemarle Sound and Roanoke Island were explored, and some information gathered by inquiries from the Indians; the commanders had not the courage or the activity to survey the country with exactness. Having made but a short stay in America, they arrived in September in the west of England, accompanied by Manteo and Wanchese, two natives of the wilderness; and the returning voyagers gave such glowing descriptions of their discoveries, as might be expected from men who had done no more than sail over the smooth waters of a summer's sea, among "the hundred islands" of North Carolina.(1) Elizabeth,

(1) Amidas and Barlow's account, in Hakluyt, iii. 301—307. I have compared, on this and the following voyages, Smith's Virginia, i. 80—85; Stith, 8—12; Tyler's Raleigh, 47—54; Oldys, 55; Birch, 580, 581; Cayley, i. 33—46; Thomson, 32; Williamson's North Carolina, i. 28—37; and Martin's North Carolina, i. 9—12. I have followed exclusively the contemporaneous account, deriving, in the comparison of localities, much benefit from a MS. in my possession, by J. S. Jones, of Shocco, North Carolina.

as she heard their reports, esteemed her reign signalized by the discovery of the enchanting regions, and, as a memorial of her state of life, named them Virginia.

Nor was it long before Raleigh, elected to represent in parliament the county of Devon, obtained a bill confirming his patent of discovery ;(1) and while he received the honour of knighthood as the reward of his valour, he also acquired a lucrative monopoly of wines, which enabled him to continue with vigour his schemes of colonization.(2) The prospect of becoming the proprietary of a delightful territory, with a numerous tenantry, who should yield him not only a revenue, but allegiance, inflamed his ambition ; and, as the English nation listened with credulity to the descriptions of Amidas and Barlow, it was not difficult to gather a numerous company of emigrants. While a new patent(3) was issued to his friend for the discovery of the north-western passage, and the well-known voyages of Davis, sustained, in part, by the contributions of Raleigh himself, were increasing the acquaintance of Europe with the Arctic Sea, the plan of colonizing Virginia was earnestly and steadily pursued.

The new expedition was composed of seven vessels,
1585. and carried one hundred and eight colonists to the shores of Carolina. Ralph Lane, a man of considerable distinction, and so much esteemed for his services as a soldier that he was afterwards knighted by Queen Elizabeth, was willing to act for Raleigh as governor of the colony. Sir Richard Grenville, the most able and celebrated of Raleigh's associates, distinguished for bravery among the gallant spirits of a gallant age, assumed the command of the fleet. It sailed from Plymouth, accompanied by several men of merit, whom the world remembers ;—by Cavel-
dish, who soon after circumnavigated the globe ; Hariot, the inventor of the system of notation in modern algebra,(4) the historian of the expedition ; and With, an ingenious painter, whose sketches(5) of the natives, their habits and modes of life, were taken with beauty and exactness, and were the means of encouraging an interest in Virginia, by diffusing a knowledge of its productions.

To sail by the Canaries and the West Indies, to conduct

(1) D'Ewes's Journal, 339, 341.

(2) Tytler, 54, 55. Oldys, 58, 59.

(3) Hakluyt, iii. 129—157.

(4) Tytler, 66. Stith, 20. Playfair's Dissertation, p. i. s. i.

(5) In De Bry, part ii. They are also imitated in Beverley's Virginia.

a gainful commerce with the Spanish ports by intimidation ; to capture Spanish vessels ;—these were but the expected preliminaries of a voyage to Virginia. At length the fleet fell in with the main land of Florida ; it was in great danger of being wrecked on the cape which was then first called the Cape of Fear ; and two days after it came to anchor at Wocoken. The perils of the navigation on the shoals of that coast became too evident ; the largest ship of the squadron, as it entered the harbour, struck, but was not lost. It was through Ocracock Inlet that the fleet made its way to Roanoke.

But the fate of this colony was destined to be influenced by the character of the natives. Manteo, the friend of the English, and who returned with the fleet from a visit to England, was sent to the main to announce their arrival. Grenville, accompanied by Lane, Hariot, Cavendish, and others, in an excursion of eight days, explored the coast as far as Secotan, and, as they relate, were well entertained of the savages. At one of the Indian towns a silver cup had been stolen ; its restoration was delayed ; with hasty cruelty Grenville ordered the village to be burnt and the standing corn to be destroyed. Not long after this action of inconsiderate revenge, the ships, having landed the colony, sailed for England ; a rich Spanish prize, made by Grenville on the return voyage, secured him a courteous welcome as he entered the harbour of Plymouth. The transport ships of the colony were at the same time privateers.(1)

The employments of Lane and his colonists, after the departure of Sir Richard Grenville, could be none other than to explore the country ; and in a letter, which he wrote while his impressions were yet fresh, he expressed himself in language of enthusiastic admiration. "It is the goodliest soil under the cope of heaven ; the most pleasing territory of the world ; the continent is of a huge and unknown greatness, and very well peopled and towned, though savagely. The climate is so wholesome that we have not one sick since we touched the land. If Virginia had but horses and kine, and were inhabited with English, no realm in Christendom were comparable to it."(2)

The keenest observer was Hariot, and he was often employed in dealing with "the natural inhabitants." He

(1) *The Voyage*, in Hakluyt, iii. 307—310.

(2) Lane, in Hakluyt, iii. 311.

carefully examined the productions of the country, those which would furnish commodities for commerce, and those which were in esteem among the natives. He observed the culture of tobacco ; accustomed himself to its use, and was a firm believer in its healing virtues. The culture of maize, and the extraordinary productiveness of that grain, especially attracted his admiration ; and the tuberous roots of the potato, when boiled, were found to be very good food. The inhabitants are described as too feeble to inspire terror ; clothed in mantles and aprons of deer-skins ; having no weapons but wooden swords and bows of witch-hazel with arrows of reeds ; no armour but targets of bark and sticks wickered together with thread. Their towns were small, the largest containing but thirty dwellings. The walls of the houses were made of bark, fastened to stakes ; and sometimes consisted of poles fixed upright, one by another, and at the top bent over and fastened, as arbours are sometimes made in gardens. But the great peculiarity of the Indians consisted in the want of political connection. A single town often constituted a government ; a collection of ten or twenty wigwams was an independent state. The greatest chief in the whole country could not muster more than seven or eight hundred fighting men. The dialect of each government seemed a language by itself. The country which Hariot explored was on the boundary of the Algonquin race, where the Lenni Lenape tribes melted into the widely-differing nations of the south. The wars among themselves rarely led them to the open battle-field ; they were accustomed rather to sudden surprises at daybreak or by moonlight, to ambuses and the subtle devices of cunning falsehood. Destitute of the arts, they yet displayed excellency of wit in all which they attempted. Nor were they entirely ignorant of religion ; and to the credulity of fetichism they joined an undeveloped conception of the unity of the Divine Power. It is natural to the human mind to desire immortality ; the natives of Carolina believed in continued existence after death, and in retributive justice. The mathematical instruments, the burning-glass, guns, clocks, and the use of letters, seemed the works of gods rather than of men ; and the English were reverenced as the pupils and favourites of Heaven. In every town which Hariot entered he displayed the Bible, and explained its truths ; the Indians revered the volume rather than its doctrines ; and, with a

fond superstition, they embraced the book, kissed it, and held it to their breasts and heads, as if it had been an amulet. As the colonists enjoyed uniform health, and had no women with them, there were some among the Indians who imagined the English were not born of woman, and therefore not mortal; that they were men of an old generation, risen to immortality. The terrors of fire-arms the natives could neither comprehend nor resist; every sickness which now prevailed among them was attributed to wounds from invisible bullets, discharged by unseen agents, with whom the air was supposed to be peopled. They prophesied that "there were more of the English generation yet to come, to kill theirs and take their places;" and some believed that the purpose of extermination was already matured, and its execution begun.(1)

Was it strange, then, that the natives desired to be delivered from the presence of guests by whom they feared to be supplanted? The colonists were mad with the passion for gold; and a wily savage invented, respecting the River Roanoke and its banks, extravagant tales, which nothing but cupidity could have credited. The river, it was said, gushed forth from a rock, so near the Pacific Ocean that the surge of the sea sometimes dashed into its fountain; its banks were inhabited by a nation skilled in the art of refining the rich ore in which the country abounded. The walls of the city were described as glittering from the abundance of pearls. Lane was so credulous, that he attempted to ascend the rapid current of the Roanoke; and his followers, infatuated with greedy avarice, would not return till their stores of provisions were exhausted, and they had killed and eaten the very dogs which bore them company. On this attempt to explore the interior, the English hardly advanced higher up the river than some point near the present village of Williamstown.

The Indians had hoped to destroy the English by thus dividing them; but the prompt return of Lane prevented open hostilities. They next conceived the plan of leaving their lands unplanted; and they were willing to abandon their fields, if famine would in consequence compel the departure of their too-powerful guests. The suggestion was defeated by the moderation of one of their aged chiefs; but the feeling of enmity could not be restrained.

(1) Hariot, in Hakluyt, iii. 324—340.

The English believed that a wide conspiracy was preparing ; that fear of a foreign enemy was now teaching the natives the necessity of union ; and that a grand alliance was forming to destroy the strangers by a general massacre. Perhaps the English, whom avarice had certainly rendered credulous, were now precipitate in giving faith to the whispers of jealousy ; it is certain that, in the contest of dissimulation, they proved themselves the more successful adepts. Desiring an audience of Wingina, the most active among the native chiefs, Lane and his attendants were quickly admitted to his presence. No hostile intentions were displayed by the Indians ; their reception of the English was proof of their confidence. Immediately a preconcerted watchword was given ; and the Christians, falling upon the unhappy king and his principal followers, put them without mercy to death.

It was evident that Lane did not possess the qualities suited to his station. He had not the sagacity which could rightly interpret the stories or the designs of the natives ; and the courage, like the eye, of a soldier, differs from that of a traveller. His discoveries were inconsiderable : to the south they had extended only to Secotan, in the present county of Craven, between the Pamlico and the Neuse ; to the north they reached no farther than the small river Elizabeth, which joins the Chesapeake Bay below Norfolk ; in the interior, the Chowan had been examined beyond the junction of the Meherrin and the Nottaway ; and we have seen, that the hope of gold attracted Lane to make a short excursion up the Roanoke. Yet some general results of importance were obtained. The climate was found to be salubrious ; during the year, not more than four men had died,—and of these, three brought the seeds of their disease from Europe.(1) The hope of finding better harbours at the north was confirmed ; and the Bay of Chesapeake was already regarded as the fit theatre for early colonization. But in the Island of Roanoke, the men began to despond. They looked in vain towards the ocean for supplies from England ; they were sighing for the luxuries of the cities in their native land ; when of a sudden it was rumoured that the sea was white with the sails of three-and-twenty ships ; and within three days, Sir Francis Drake had anchored his fleet at

(1) Hariot, in Hakluyt, iii. 340. True Declaration of Virginia, 32.

sea outside of Roanoke Inlet, in "the wild road of their bad harbour."

He had come, on his way from the West Indies to England, to visit the domain of his friend. With the celerity of genius he discovered the measures which the exigency of the case required, and supplied the wants of Lane to the uttermost, giving him a bark of seventy tons, with pinnaces and small boats, and all needed provisions for the colony. Above all, he induced two experienced sea-captains to remain, and employ themselves in the action of discovery. Everything was furnished to complete the surveys along the coast and rivers, and, in the last resort, if suffering became extreme, to reconvey the emigrants to England.

At this time, an unwonted storm suddenly arose, and had nearly wrecked the fleet, which lay in a most dangerous position, and which had no security but in weighing anchor and standing away from the shore. When the tempest was over, nothing could be found of the boats and the bark which had been set apart for the colony. The humanity of Drake was not weary ; he instantly devised measures for supplying the colony with the means of continuing their discoveries ; but Lane shared the despondency of his men, and Drake yielded to their unanimous desire of permission to embark in his ships for England. Thus ended the first actual settlement of the English in America. The exiles of a year had grown familiar with the favourite amusements of the lethargic Indians, and they introduced into England the general use of tobacco.(1)

The return of Lane was a precipitate desertion ; a little delay would have furnished the colony with ample supplies. A few days after its departure, a ship arrived, laden with all stores needed by the infant settlement. It had been despatched by Raleigh ; but finding "the paradise of the world" deserted, it could only return to England. Another fortnight had hardly elapsed, when Sir Richard Grenville appeared off the coast with three well-furnished ships, and renewed the vain search for the departed colony. Unwilling that the English should lose possession of the

(1) On the Settlement, see Lane in Hakluyt, iii. 311—322, the original account. The reader may compare Camden, in Kennett, ii. 509, 510; Stith, 12—21; Smith, i. 86—99; Belknap, i. 213—216; Williamson, i. 37—51; Martin, i. 12—24; Tytler, 56—68; Thomson, c. i. and ii., and Appendix B.; Oldys, c. 65—71; Cayley, i. 46—81; Birch, 582, 584.

country, he left fifteen men on the Island of Roanoke, to be the guardians of English rights.(1)

Raleigh was not dismayed by ill success, nor borne down by losses.^{1587.} The enthusiasm of the people of England was diminished by the reports of the unsuccessful company of Lane; but the decisive testimony of Hariot to the excellence of the country, still rendered it easy to collect a new colony for America. The wisdom of Raleigh was particularly displayed in the policy which he now adopted. He determined to plant an agricultural state; to send emigrants with wives and families, who should at once make their homes in the New World; and, that life and property might be secured, he granted a charter of incorporation for the settlement, and established a municipal government for "the city of Raleigh." John White was appointed its governor; and to him, with eleven assistants, the administration of the colony was intrusted. A fleet of transport ships was prepared at the expense of the proprietary; "Queen Elizabeth, the godmother of Virginia," declined contributing "to its education." The company, as it embarked, was cheered by the presence of women; and an ample provision of the implements of husbandry gave a pledge for successful industry. In July, they arrived on the coast of North Carolina; they were saved from the dangers of Cape Fear; and, passing Cape Hatteras, they hastened to the Isle of Roanoke, to search for the handful of men whom Grenville had left there as a garrison. They found the tenements deserted and overgrown with weeds; human bones lay scattered on the field; wild deer were reposing in the untenanted houses, and were feeding on the productions which a rank vegetation still forced from the gardens. The fort was in ruins. No vestige of surviving life appeared. The miserable men whom Grenville had left, had been murdered by the Indians.

The instructions of Raleigh had designated the place for the new settlement on the Bay of the Chesapeake. It marks but little union, that Fernando, the naval officer, eager to renew a profitable traffic in the West Indies, refused his assistance in exploring the coast, and White was compelled to remain on Roanoke. The fort of

(1) Hakluyt, iii. 323; Stith, 22; and Belknap, i. 217,—say fifty men erroneously. Smith, i. 99, began the error.

Governor Lane, "with sundry decent dwelling-houses," had been built at the northern extremity of the island ; it was there that the foundations of the city of Raleigh were laid. The Island of Roanoke is now almost uninhabited ; commerce has selected securer harbours for its pursuits ; the intrepid pilot and the hardy "wrecker," rendered adventurously daring by their familiarity with the dangers of the coast, and in their natures wild as the storms to which their skill bids defiance, unconscious of the associations by which they are surrounded, are the only tenants of the spot where the inquisitive stranger may yet discern the ruins of the fort, round which the cottages of the new settlement were erected.

But disasters thickened. A tribe of savages displayed implacable jealousy, and murdered one of the assistants. The mother and the kindred of Manteo welcomed the English to the Island of Croatan, and a mutual friendship was continued. But even this alliance was not unclouded. A detachment of the English, discovering a company of the natives whom they esteemed their enemies, fell upon them by night, as the harmless men were sitting fearlessly by their fires ; and the havoc was begun before it was perceived that these were friendly Indians.

The vanities of life were not forgotten in the New World ; and Manteo, the faithful Indian chief, "by the commandment of Sir Walter Raleigh," received Christian baptism, and was invested with the rank of a feudal baron, as the Lord of Roanoke. It was the first peerage erected by the English in America, and remained a solitary dignity, till Locke and Shaftesbury suggested the establishment of palatinates in Carolina, and Manteo shared his honours with the admired philosopher of his age.

As the time for the departure of the ship for England drew near, the emigrants became gloomy with apprehensions ; they were conscious of their dependence on Europe ; and they, with one voice, women as well as men, urged the governor to return and use his vigorous intercession for the prompt despatch of reinforcements and supplies. It was in vain that he pleaded a sense of honour, which called upon him to remain and share in person the perils of the colony which he was appointed to govern. He was forced to yield to the general importunity.

Yet, previous to his departure, his daughter, Eleanor

Dare, the wife of one of the assistants, gave birth to a female child, the first offspring of English parents on the soil of the United States. The infant was named from the place of its birth. The colony, now composed of eighty-nine men, seventeen women, and two children, whose names are all preserved, might reasonably hope for the speedy return of the governor, who, as he sailed for England, left with them, as hostages, his daughter and his grandchild, VIRGINIA DARE.

And yet even those ties were insufficient. The colony received no seasonable relief; and the further history of this neglected plantation is involved in gloomy uncertainty. The inhabitants of "the city of Raleigh," the emigrants from England and the first-born of America, failed, like their predecessors, in establishing an enduring settlement; but, unlike their predecessors, they awaited death in the land of their adoption. If America had no English town, it soon had English graves.(1)

For when White reached England, he found its whole attention absorbed by the threats of an invasion from Spain; and Grenville, Raleigh, and Lane, not less than Frobisher, Drake, and Hawkins, were engaged in planning measures of resistance. Yet Raleigh, whose patriotism

did not diminish his generosity, found means to de-
1588. spatch White with supplies in two vessels. But the company, desiring a gainful voyage rather than a safe one, ran in chase of prizes; till, at last, one of them fell in with men of war from Rochelle, and, after a bloody fight, was boarded and rifled. Both ships were compelled to return immediately to England, to the ruin of the colony and the displeasure of its author.(2) The delay was fatal; the independence of the English kingdom, and the security of the Protestant reformation were in danger; nor could the poor colonists of Roanoke be again remembered till after the discomfiture of the Invincible Armada.

Even when complete success against the Spanish fleet had crowned the arms of England, Sir Walter Raleigh, who had already incurred a fruitless expense of forty thousand pounds, found himself unable to continue the attempts at colonizing Virginia. Yet he did not despair

(1) The original account of White, in Hakluyt, iii. 340—348. The story is repeated by Smith, Stith, Keith, Burk, Belknap, Williamson, Martin, Thomson, Tytler, and others.

(2) Hakluyt, edition 1589, 771; quoted in Oldys, 98, 99.

of ultimate success ; he admired the invincible constancy which would bury the remembrance of past dangers in the glory of annexing fertile provinces to his country ; and as his fortune did not permit him to renew his exertions, he used the privilege of his patent to form a company of merchants and adventurers, who were endowed by his liberality with large concessions, and who, it was hoped, would replenish Virginia with settlers. Among the men who thus obtained an assignment of the proprietary's rights in Virginia, is found the name of Richard Hakluyt ; it is the connecting link between the first efforts of England in North Carolina and the final colonization of Virginia. The colonists at Roanoke had emigrated with a charter ; the new instrument (1) was not an assignment of

Raleigh's patent, but extended a grant, already held
1589. under its sanction, by increasing the number to whom the rights of that charter belonged.

Yet the enterprise of the adventurers languished, for it was no longer encouraged by the profuse liberality of Raleigh. More than another year elapsed before White (2)
1590. could return to search for his colony and his daughter ; and then the Island of Roanoke was a desert. An inscription on the bark of a tree pointed to Croatan ; but the season of the year and the dangers from storms were pleaded as an excuse for an immediate return. Had the emigrants already perished ? or had they escaped with their lives to Croatan, and, through the friendship of Manteo, become familiar with the Indians ? The conjecture has been hazarded,(3) that the deserted colony, neglected by their own countrymen, were hospitably adopted into the tribe of Hatteras Indians, and became amalgamated with the sons of the forest. This was the tradition of the natives at a later day, and was thought to be confirmed by the physical character of the tribe, in which the English and the Indian race seemed to have been blended. Raleigh long cherished the hope of discovering some vestiges of their existence ; and though he had abandoned the design of colonizing Virginia, he yet sent at his own charge, and, it is said, at five several times,(4) to search for his liege-men. But it was all in vain ; imagination

(1) Hazard, i. 42—45.

(2) White, in Hakluyt, iii. 348, 349, and 350—357.

(3) Lawson's N. Carolina, 62.

(4) Purchas iv. 1653.

received no help in its attempts to trace the fate of the colony of Roanoke.

The name of Raleigh stands highest among the statesmen of England who advanced the colonization of the United States, and his fame belongs to American history. No Englishman of his age possessed so various or so extraordinary qualities. Courage which was never daunted, mild self-possession, and fertility of invention, insured him glory in his profession of arms ; and his services in the conquest of Cadiz, or the capture of Fayal, were alone sufficient to establish his fame as a gallant and successful commander. In every danger his life was distinguished by valour, and his death was ennobled by true magnanimity.

He was not only admirable in active life as a soldier ; he was an accomplished scholar. No statesman in retirement ever expressed the charms of tranquil leisure more beautifully than Raleigh ; and it was not entirely with the language of grateful friendship that Spenser described his “ sweet verse as sprinkled with nectar,” and rivaling the melodies of “ the summer’s nightingale.”⁽¹⁾ When an unjust verdict, contrary to probability and the evidence, “ against law and against equity,” on a charge which seems to have been a pure invention, left him to languish for years in prison, with the sentence of death suspended over his head, his active genius plunged into the depths of erudition, and he who had been a soldier, a courtier, and a seaman, now became the elaborate author of a learned history of the world.

His career as a statesman was honourable to the pupil of Coligny and the contemporary of L’Hopital. In his public policy he was thoroughly an English patriot, jealous of the honour, the prosperity, and the advancement of his country ; the inexorable antagonist of the pretensions of Spain. In Parliament he defended the freedom of domestic industry. When, by the operation of unequal laws, taxation was a burden upon industry rather than wealth, he argued for a change ;⁽²⁾ himself possessed of a lucrative monopoly, he gave his voice for the repeal of all monopolies ;⁽³⁾ and while he pertinaciously used his

⁽¹⁾ Sonnet prefixed to *Faery Queen*. *Faery Queen*, b. iii. Int. st. iv. Compare, also, Spenser’s *Colin Clout’s come home again*, verses 68—75, and *Faery Queen*, b. iii. c. vii. st. 36—41.

⁽²⁾ Tytler, 238, 239.

⁽³⁾ D’Ewes, 646. Tytler, 239.

influence with his sovereign to mitigate the severity of the judgments against the nonconformists,(1) as a legislator he resisted the sweeping enactment of persecuting laws.(2)

In the career of discovery his perseverance was never baffled by losses. He joined in the risks of Gilbert's expedition, contributed to the discoveries of Davis in the north-west, and himself personally explored "the insular regions and broken world" of Guiana. The sincerity of his belief in the wealth of the latter country has been unreasonably questioned. If Elizabeth had hoped for a hyperborean Peru in the arctic seas of America, why might not Raleigh expect to find the city of gold on the banks of the Oronoco? His lavish efforts in colonizing the soil of our republic, his sagacity, which enjoined a settlement within the Chesapeake Bay, the publications of Hariot and Hakluyt, which he countenanced, if followed by losses to himself, diffused over England a knowledge of America, as well as an interest in its destinies, and sowed the seeds, of which the fruits were to ripen during his lifetime, though not for him.

Raleigh had suffered from palsy (3) before his last expedition. He returned broken-hearted by the defeat of his hopes, by the decay of his health, and by the death of his eldest son. What shall be said of King James, who would open to an aged paralytic no other hope of liberty but through success in the discovery of mines in Guiana? What shall be said of a monarch who could, at that time, under a sentence which was originally unjust,(4) and which had slumbered for fifteen years, order the execution of the decrepit man, whose genius and valour shone brilliantly through the ravages of physical decay, and whose English heart, within a palsied frame, still beat with an undying love for his country?

The judgments of the tribunals of the Old World are often reversed by public opinion in the New. The family of the chief author of early colonization in the United States was reduced to beggary by the government of

(1) Oldys, 137—139.

(2) Thomson, 55. Oldys, 165, 166. D'Ewes, 517. Tytler, 122.

(3) Thomson, Appendix, note U. The original document.

(4) Hume, Rapin, Lingard, are less favourable to Raleigh. Even Hallam, i. 482—484, vindicates him with wavering boldness. A careful comparison of the accounts of these historians, the trial, and the biographies of Raleigh, proves him to have been, on his trial, a victim of jealousy, and entirely innocent of crime. No doubt he despised King James. See Tytler, 285—290.

England, and he himself was beheaded. After a lapse of nearly two centuries, the state of North Carolina, by 1792. a solemn act of legislation, revived in its capital, "THE CITY OF RALEIGH ;" thus expressing its grateful respect for the memory of the extraordinary man, who united in himself as many kinds of glory as were ever combined in an individual.

The enthusiasm of Raleigh pervaded his countrymen. Imagination already saw beyond the Atlantic a people whose mother idiom should be the language of England. "Who knows," exclaimed Daniel, the poet laureate of that kingdom—

" Who in time knows whither we may vent
The treasures of our tongue? To what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent
To enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds, in th' yet unformed Occident,
May 'come refined with th' accents that are ours?"

Already the fishing of Newfoundland was vaunted 1593. as the stay of the west countries. Some traffic may have continued with Virginia. Thus were men trained for the career of discovery; and in 1602, Bartholomew Gosnold, who, perhaps, had already sailed to Virginia, in the usual route, by the Canaries and West Indies, conceiving the idea of a direct voyage to America, with the concurrence of Raleigh, had well nigh secured to New England the honour of the first permanent English colony.

Steering, in a small bark, directly across the Atlantic, 1602. in seven weeks he reached the continent of America in the Bay of Massachusetts, not far to the north of Nahant.(1) He failed to observe a good harbour, and, standing for the south, discovered the promontory which he called Cape Cod—a name which would not yield to that of the next monarch of England. Here he and four of his men landed; Cape Cod was the first spot in New England ever trod by Englishmen. Doubling the cape, and passing Nantucket, they again landed on a little island, now called No Man's Land, and afterwards passed round the promontory of Gay Head, naming it Dover Cliff. At length they entered Buzzard's Bay—a stately sound, which they called Gosnold's Hope: The westernmost of the islands was named Elizabeth, from the queen—a name which has been transferred to the whole group. Here they beheld the rank vegetation of a virgin soil; the noble forests; the

(1) Belknap's Biog. ii. 103. Williamson's Maine, i. 184, 185.

wild fruits and the flowers, bursting from the earth ; the eglantine, the thorn, and the honeysuckle, the wild pea, the tansy, and young sassafras ; strawberries, raspberries, grape-vines, all in profusion. There is on the island a pond, and within it lies a rocky islet ; this was the position which the adventurers selected for their residence. Here they built their storehouse and their fort ; and here the foundations of the first New England colony were to be laid. The natural features remain unchanged ; the island, the pond, the islet, are all yet visible ; the forests are gone ; the shrubs are as luxuriant as of old ; but the ruins of the fort can no longer be discerned.

A traffic with the natives on the main land, soon enabled Gosnold to complete his freight, which consisted chiefly of sassafras root, then greatly esteemed in pharmacy as a sovereign panacea. The little band, which was to have nestled on the Elizabeth Islands, finding their friends about to embark for Europe, despaired of obtaining seasonable supplies of food, and determined not to remain. Fear of an assault from the Indians, who had ceased to be friendly, the want of provisions, and jealousy respecting the distribution of the risks and profits, defeated the design. The whole party soon set sail and bore for England. The return voyage lasted but five weeks ; and the expedition was completed in less than four months, during which entire health had prevailed.(1)

Gosnold and his companions spread the most favourable reports of the regions which he had visited. Could it be that the voyage was so safe, the climate so pleasant, the country so inviting ? The merchants of Bristol, with the ready assent of Raleigh,(2) and at the instance of Richard Hakluyt, the enlightened friend and able documentary historian of these commercial enterprises, a man whose fame should be vindicated and asserted in the land which he helped to colonize, determined to pursue the career of investigation. The *Speedwell*, a small ship of fifty tons and thirty men, the *Discoverer*, a bark of twenty-six tons and thirteen men, under the command of Martin 1603. Pring, set sail for America a few days after the death of the queen. It was a private undertaking, and therefore

(1) Gosnold to his father, in Purchas, iv. 1646. Archer's Relation, ibid. iv. 1647—1651. Rosier's Notes, ibid. iv. 1651—1653. Brierton's Relation, in Smith, i. 105—108. Compare, particularly, Belknap's Life of Gosnold, in Am. Biog. ii. 100—123.

(2) Purchas, iv. 1614.

not retarded by that event. The ship was well provided with trinkets and merchandisc, suited to a traffic with the natives ; and this voyage also was successful. It reached the American coast among the islands which skirt the harbours of Maine. The mouth of the Penobscot offered good anchorage and fishing. Pring made a discovery of the eastern rivers and harbours—the Saco, the Kennebunk, and the York ; and the channel of the Piscataqua was examined for three or four leagues. Meeting no sassafras, he steered for the south ; doubled Cape Ann ; and went on shore in Massachusetts ; but, being still unsuccessful, he again pursued a southerly track, and finally anchored in Old Town harbour, on Martha's Vineyard. The whole absence lasted about six months, and was completed without disaster or danger.(1) Pring, a few years later, repeated his voyage, and made a more accurate survey of Maine.

Enterprises for discovery were now continuous. Bartholomew Gilbert,(2) returning from the West Indies, made an unavailing search for the colony of Raleigh. It was the last attempt to trace the remains of those unfortunate men. But as the testimony of Pring had confirmed the reports of Gosnold, the career of navigation was vigorously pursued. An expedition, promoted by the Earl of Southampton and Lord Arundel, of Wardour, and commanded by George Weymouth, who, in attempting a north-west passage, had already explored the coast of Labrador, now discovered the Penobscot River. Weymouth left England in March, and, in about six weeks, came in sight of the American continent near Cape Cod. Turning to the north, he approached the coast of Maine, and ascended the western branch of the Penobscot beyond Belfast Bay ; where the deep channel of the broad stream, the abundance of its spacious harbours, the neighbouring springs and copious rivulets, compelled the experienced mariner to admire the noble river, which is just now beginning to have upon its banks and in its ports the flourishing settlements and active commerce that it is by nature so well adapted to sustain. Five natives were decoyed on board the ship, and Weymouth, returning to

(1) Purchas, iv. 1654—1656. Compare Belknap, ii. 123—133; Williamson's Maine, i. p. 185—187.

(2) Purchas, iv. 1656—1658.

England, gave three of them to Sir Ferdinand Gorges, a friend of Raleigh, and governor of Plymouth.(1)

Such were the voyages which led the way to the colonization of the United States. The daring and skill of these earliest adventurers upon the ocean deserve the highest admiration. The difficulties of crossing the Atlantic were new, and it required the greater courage to encounter hazards which ignorance exaggerated. The character of the prevalent winds and currents was unknown. The possibility of making a direct passage was but gradually discovered. The imagined dangers were infinite; the real dangers, exceedingly great. The ships at first employed for discovery were generally of less than one hundred tons burthen; Frobisher sailed in a vessel of but twenty-five tons; two of those of Columbus were without a deck; and so perilous were the voyages deemed, that the sailors were accustomed, before embarking, to perform solemn acts of devotion, as if to prepare for eternity. The anticipation of disasters was not visionary; Columbus was shipwrecked twice, and once remained for eight months on an island, without any communication with the civilized world; Hudson was turned adrift in a small boat by a crew whom suffering had rendered mutinous; Willoughby perished with cold; Roberval, Parmentier, Gilbert,—and how many others?—went down at sea; and such was the state of the art of navigation, that intrepidity and skill were unavailing against the elements without the favour of Heaven.

(1) Rosier's Virginian Voyage, &c. in Purchas, iv. 1659—1667. Gorges, Brief Narration, c. ii. Compare Belknap's Am. Biog. ii. 134—150; Williamson's Maine, i. 191—195. Strange with what reckless confidence Oldmixon, i. 219, 220, can blunder!

CHAPTER IV.

COLONIZATION OF VIRGINIA.

THE period of success in planting colonies in Virginia had arrived; yet not till changes had occurred, 1606. affecting the character of European politics and society, and moulding the forms of colonization. The Reformation had interrupted the harmony of religious opinion in the west of Europe; and differences in the Church began to constitute the basis of political parties. Commercial intercourse equally sustained a revolution. It had been conducted on the narrow seas and by land; it now launched out upon the broadest waters; and, after the East Indies had been reached by doubling the southern promontory of Africa, the great commerce of the world was performed upon the ocean. The art of printing had become known; and the press diffused intelligence and multiplied the facilities of instruction. The feudal institutions which had been reared in the middle ages were already undermined by the current of time and events, and, swaying from their base, threatened to fall. Productive industry had, on the one side, built up the fortunes and extended the influence of the active classes; while habits of indolence and of expense had impaired the estates and diminished the power of the nobility. These changes also produced corresponding results in the institutions which were to rise in America.

A revolution had equally occurred in the purposes for which voyages were undertaken. The hope of Columbus, as he sailed to the west, had been the discovery of a new passage to the East Indies. The passion for rapidly amassing gold soon became the prevailing motive. Next, the islands and countries near the equator were made the tropical gardens of the Europeans for the culture of such luxuries as the warmest regions only can produce. At last, the higher design was matured, not to plunder, nor to destroy, nor to enslave; but to found states, to plant permanent Christian colonies, to establish for the oppressed and the enterprising places of refuge and abode, with all the elements of independent national existence.

The condition of England favoured adventure in America. A redundant population had existed even before the peace with Spain ;⁽¹⁾ and the timid character of King James, throwing out of employment the gallant men who had served under Elizabeth by sea and land, left them no option but to engage as mercenaries in the quarrels of strangers, or incur the hazards of “ seeking a New World.”⁽²⁾ The minds of many persons of intelligence, rank, and enterprise, were directed to Virginia. The brave and ingenious Gosnold, who had himself witnessed the fertility of the western soil, long solicited the concurrence of his friends for the establishment of a colony,⁽³⁾ and at last prevailed with Edward Maria Wingfield, a grovelling merchant of the west of England, Robert Hunt, a clergyman of persevering fortitude and modest worth, and John Smith, the adventurer of rare genius and undying fame, to consent to risk their own lives and their hope of fortune in an expedition.⁽⁴⁾ For more than a year this little company revolved the project of a plantation. At the same time Sir Ferdinand Gorges was gathering information of the native Americans, whom he had received from Weymouth, and whose descriptions of the country, joined to the favourable views which he had already imbibed, filled him with the strongest desire of becoming a proprietary of domains beyond the Atlantic. Gorges was a man of wealth, of rank, and of influence ; he readily persuaded Sir John Popham, lord chief justice of England, to share his intentions.⁽⁵⁾ Nor had the assigns of Raleigh become indifferent to “ western planting ;” the most distinguished of them all, Richard Hakluyt, the historian of maritime enterprise, still favoured the establishment of a colony by his personal exertions and the firm enthusiasm of his character. Possessed of whatever information could be derived from foreign sources and a correspondence with the eminent navigators of his times, and anxiously watching the progress of the attempts of Englishmen in the west, his extensive knowledge made him a counsellor in the enterprises which were attempted, and sustained in him

(1) Bacon on Queen Elizabeth. (2) Gorges's Brief Narration, c. ii.

(3) Edmund Howes's Continuation of Stowe, 1018—a prime authority on Virginia. See Stith, 229.

(4) Smith, i. 149, or Purchas, iv. 1705; Stith, 35. Compare Hillard's Life of Smith, in Sparks's American Biography, ii. 177—407; also Belknap, i. 239, 252.

(5) Gorges, c. ii.—v.

and his associates the confidence which repeated disappointments did not exhaust.(1) Thus the cause of colonization obtained in England zealous and able defenders, who, independent of any party in religion or politics, believed that a prosperous state could be established by Englishmen in the temperate regions of North America.

The king of England, too timid to be active, yet too vain to be indifferent, favoured the design of enlarging his dominions. He had attempted in Scotland the introduction of the arts of life among the Highlanders and the Western Isles, by the establishment of colonies ;(2) and the English plantations which he formed in the northern counties of Ireland are said to have contributed to the affluence and the security of that island.(3) When, therefore, a company of men of business and men of rank, formed by the experience of Gosnold, the enthusiasm of Smith, the perseverance of Hakluyt, the hopes of profit, and the extensive influence of Popham and Gorges,(4) applied to James I. for leave "to deduce a colony into Virginia," the monarch promoted the noble work by readily issuing an ample patent.

The first colonial charter,(5) under which the English were planted in America, deserves careful consideration. A belt of twelve degrees on the American coast, embracing the soil from Cape Fear to Halifax, excepting perhaps the little spot in Acadia then actually possessed by the French, was set apart to be colonized by two rival companies. Of these, the first was composed of noblemen, gentlemen, and merchants, in and about London ; the second, of knights, gentlemen, and merchants, in the west. The London adventurers, who alone succeeded, had an exclusive right to occupy the regions from thirty-four to thirty-eight degrees of north latitude,—that is, from Cape Fear to the southern limit of Maryland ; the western men had equally an exclusive right to plant between forty-one and forty-five degrees. The intermediate district, from thirty-eight

(1) Hakluyt, iii. *passim*, v. Dedication of *Virginia* valued. The first *Virginia* charter contains his name.

(2) Robertson's *Scotland*, b. viii.

(3) Leland's *History of Ireland*, ii. 204—213. Lord Bacon's speech as Chancellor to the Speaker, *Works*, iii. 405.

(4) Gorges, c. v. and vi.

(5) See the Charter, in Hazard, i. 51—58; Stith's Appendix, 1—8; Hening's *Statutes of Virginia at large*, i. 57—66. In referring to this collection, I cannot but add, that no other state in the Union possesses so excellent a work on its legislative history.

to forty-one degrees, was open to the competition of both companies. Yet collision was not possible; for each was to possess the soil extending fifty miles north and south of its first settlement; so that neither could plant within one hundred miles of a colony of its rival. The conditions of tenure were homage and rent; the rent was no other than one-fifth of the net produce of gold and silver, and one-fifteenth of copper. The right of coining money was conceded, perhaps to facilitate commerce with the natives, who, it was hoped, would receive Christianity and the arts of civilized life. The superintendence of the whole colonial system was confided to a council in England; the local administration of each colony was intrusted to a council residing within its limits. The members of the superior council in England were appointed exclusively by the king; and the tenure of their office was his good pleasure. Over the colonial councils the king likewise preserved a control; for the members of them were from time to time to be ordained, made, and removed, according to royal instructions. Supreme legislative authority over the colonies, extending alike to their general condition and the most minute regulations, was likewise expressly reserved to the monarch. A hope was also cherished of an ultimate revenue to be derived from Virginia; a duty, to be levied on vessels trading to its harbours, was, for one-and-twenty years, to be wholly employed for the benefit of the plantation, at the end of that time it was to be taken for the king. To the emigrants it was promised that they and their children should continue to be Englishmen,—a concession which secured them rights on returning to England, but offered no barrier against colonial injustice. Lands were to be held by the most favourable tenure.

Thus the first written charter of a permanent American colony, which was to be the chosen abode of liberty, gave to the mercantile corporation nothing but a desert territory, with the right of peopling and defending it, and reserved to the monarch absolute legislative authority, the control of all appointments, and a hope of an ultimate revenue. To the emigrants themselves it conceded not one elective franchise, not one of the rights of self-government. They were subjected to the ordinances of a commercial corporation, of which they could not be members; to the dominion of a domestic council, in appointing which they had no voice; to the control of a superior council in

England, which had no sympathies with their rights ; and, finally, to the arbitrary legislation of the sovereign. Yet, bad as was this system, the reservation of power to the king, a result of his vanity rather than of his ambition, had, at least, the advantage of mitigating the action of the commercial corporation. The check would have been complete, had the powers of appointment and legislation been given to the people of Virginia.(1)

The summer was spent by the patentees in preparations for planting a colony, for which the vain glory of the king found a grateful occupation in framing a code of laws ;(2) an exercise of royal legislation which has been pronounced in itself illegal.(3) The superior council in England was permitted to name the colonial council, which was constituted a pure aristocracy, entirely independent of the emigrants whom they were to govern ; having power to elect or remove its president, to remove any of its members, and to supply its own vacancies. Not an element of popular liberty was introduced into the form of government. Religion was specially enjoined to be established according to the doctrine and rites of the Church of England ; and no emigrant might withdraw his allegiance from King James, or avow dissent from the royal creed. Lands were to descend according to the common law. Not only murder, manslaughter, and adultery, but dangerous tumults and seditions were punishable by death ; so that the security of life depended on the discretion of the magistrate, restricted only by the necessity of a trial by jury. All civil causes, requiring corporal punishment, fine, or imprisonment, might be summarily determined by the president and council, who also possessed full legislative authority in cases not affecting life or limb. Kindness to the savages was enjoined, with the use of all proper means for their conversion. It was further, and most unwisely, though probably at the request of the corporation, ordered, that the industry and commerce of the respective colonies should for five years, at least, be conducted in a joint stock. The king also reserved to himself the right of future legislation.

Thus were the political forms of the colony established, when, on the nineteenth day of December, in the year of

(1) Compare Chalmers, 13—15 ; Story on the Constitution, i. 22—24.

(2) See the instrument, in Hening, i. 67—75. Compare also Stith's Virginia, 37—41 ; Burk's Virginia, i. 86—92.

(3) Chalmers, 15.

our Lord one thousand six hundred and six, one hundred and nine years after the discovery of the American continent by Cabot, forty-one years from the settlement of Florida, the little squadron of three vessels, the largest not exceeding one hundred tons burthen,(1) bearing one hundred and five men, destined to remain, set sail for a harbour in Virginia.

The voyage began under inauspicious omens. Of the one hundred and five on the list of émigrants, there were but twelve labourers, and very few mechanics.(2) They were going to a wilderness, in which, as yet, not a house was standing; and there were forty-eight gentlemen to four carpenters. Neither were there any men with families. It was evident a commercial and not a colonial establishment was designed by the projectors. Dissensions sprung up during the voyage; as the names and instructions of the council had, by the folly of James, been carefully concealed in a box, which was not to be opened till after the arrival in Virginia, no competent authority existed to check the progress of envy and disorder.(3) The genius of Smith excited jealousy; and hope, the only power
1607. which can still the clamours and allay the feuds of the selfish, early deserted the colonists.

Newport, who commanded the ships, was acquainted with the old passage, and, consuming the whole of the early spring in a navigation which should have been completed in February, sailed by way of the Canaries and the West India Islands. As he turned to the north, a severe storm carried his fleet beyond the settlement of Raleigh, into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake.(4) The head-lands received and retain the names of Cape Henry and Cape Charles, from the sons of King James; the deep water for anchorage, "putting the emigrants in good comfort," gave a name to the Northern Point; and within the capes a country opened, which appeared to the emigrants to "claim the prerogative over the most pleasant places in the world." Hope revived for a season, as they advanced. "Heaven and earth seemed never to have agreed better to frame a place for man's commodious and delightful habitation."(5) A noble river was soon en-

(1) Smith's *Virginia*, i. 150.

(2) See the names in Smith, i. 153, and in Purchas, iv. 1706.

(3) Smith, i. 150. Chalmers, 17.

(4) Smith, i. 150. Stith, 44.

(5) Smith, i. 114. Stith, 45.

tered, which was named from the monarch ; and, after a search of seventeen days, during which they encountered the hostility of one little savage tribe, and at Hampton smoked the calumet of peace with another, the peninsula of Jamestown, about fifty miles above the mouth of the stream, was selected for the site of the colony.

Thus admirable was the country. The emigrants themselves were weakened by divisions, and degraded by jealousy. So soon as the members of the council were duly constituted, they proceeded to choose Wingfield president ; and then, as by their instructions they had power to do, they excluded Smith from their body, on a charge of sedition. But as his only offence consisted in the possession of enviable qualities, the attempt at his trial was abandoned,(1) and by "the good doctrine and exhortation" of the sincere Hunt, the man without whose aid the vices of the colony would have caused its immediate ruin, was soon restored to his station.(2)

While the men were busy in felling timber and providing freight for the ships, Newport and Smith and twenty others ascended the James River to the falls. They visited the native chieftain Powhatan, who has been styled "the emperor of the country," at his principal seat, just below the falls of the river at Richmond. The imperial residence was a village of twelve wigwams ! The savages murmured at the intrusion of strangers into the country ; but Powhatan disguised his fear, and would only say, "They hurt you not ; they take but a little waste land."(3)

About the middle of June, Newport set sail for England. What condition could be more pitiable than that of the English whom he had left in Virginia ? The proud hopes which the beauty of the country had excited, soon vanished ; and as the delusion passed away, they awoke and beheld that they were in the wilderness. Weak in numbers, and still weaker from want of habits of industry, they were surrounded by natives whose hostility and distrust had already been displayed ; the summer heats were intolerable to their labourers ; the moisture of the climate generated disease ; and the fertility of the

(1) Smith, i. 151. Stith, 45. (2) Stith, 47. Smith, i. 152, 153.

(3) Percy, in Purchas, iv. 1689.

soil, covered with a rank luxuriance of forest, increased the toil of culture. Their scanty provisions had become spoiled on the long voyage. "Our drink," say they, "was unwholesome water; our lodgings, castles in the air: had we been as free from all sins as from gluttony and drunkenness, we might have been canonized for saints." Despair of mind ensued; so that, in less than a fortnight after the departure of the fleet, "hardly ten of them were able to stand;" the labour of completing some simple fortifications was exhausting; and no regular crops could be planted. During the summer, there were not, on any occasion, five able men to guard the bulwarks; the fort was filled in every corner with the groans of the sick, whose outcries, night and day, for six weeks, rent the hearts of those who could minister no relief. Many times, three or four died in a night; in the morning, their bodies were trailed out of the cabins, like dogs, to be buried. Fifty men, one half of the colony, perished before autumn; among them Bartholomew Gosnold, the projector of the settlement, a man of rare merits, worthy of a perpetual memory in the plantation,(1) and whose influence had alone thus far preserved some degree of harmony in the council.(2)

Disunion completed the scene of misery. It became necessary to depose Wingfield, the avaricious president, who was charged with engrossing the choicest stores, and who was on the point of abandoning the colony and escaping to the West Indies. Ratcliffe, the new-president, possessed neither judgment nor industry; so that the management of affairs fell into the hands of Smith, whose deliberate enterprise and cheerful courage alone diffused light amidst the general gloom. He possessed by nature the buoyant spirit of heroic daring. In boyhood he had sighed for the opportunity of "setting out on brave adventures;" and though not yet thirty years of age, he was already a veteran in the service of humanity and of Christendom. His early life had been given to the cause of freedom in the Low Countries, where he had fought for the independence of the Batavian Republic. Again, as a traveller, he had roamed over France; had visited the

(1) Edmund Howes, 1018.

(2) Smith, i. 154. Percy, in Purchas, iv. 1690. Smith and Percy were both eye-witnesses.

shores of Egypt; had returned to Italy; and, panting for glory, had sought the borders of Hungary, where there had long existed an hereditary warfare with the followers of Mahomet. It was there that the young English cavalier distinguished himself by the bravest feats of arms, in the sight of Christians and infidels, engaging fearlessly and always successfully in the single combat with the Turks, which, from the days of the crusades, had been warranted by the rules of chivalry. His signal prowess gained for him the favour of Sigismund Bathori, the unfortunate prince of Transylvania. At length he,
^{1602.} with many others, was overpowered in a sudden skirmish among the glens of Wallachia, and was left severely wounded in the field of battle. A prisoner of war, he was now, according to the Eastern custom, offered for sale "like a beast in a market-place," and was sent to Constantinople as a slave. A Turkish lady had compassion on his misfortunes and his youth, and, designing to restore him to freedom, removed him to a fortress in the Crimea. Contrary to her commands, he was there subjected to the harshest usage among half-savage serfs. Rising against his taskmaster, whom he slew in the struggle, he mounted a horse, and through forest paths escaped from thraldom to the confines of Russia. Again the hand of woman relieved his wants; he travelled across the country to Transylvania, and, there bidding farewell to his companions in arms, he resolved to return "to his own sweet country." But, as he crossed the continent, he heard the rumours of civil war in Northern Africa, and hastened, in search of untried dangers, to the realms of Morocco. At length returning to England, his mind did not so much share as appropriate to itself the general enthusiasm for planting states in America; and now
^{1607.} the infant commonwealth of Virginia depended for its existence on his firmness. His experience in human nature under all its forms, and the cheering vigour of his resolute will, made him equal to his duty. He inspired the natives with awe, and quelled the spirit of anarchy and rebellion among the emigrants. He was more wakeful to gather provisions than the covetous to find gold; and strove to keep the country more than the faint-hearted to abandon it. As autumn approached, the Indians, from the superfluity of their harvest, made a voluntary offering; and supplies were also collected by expeditions into the in-

terior. But the conspiracies, that were still formed, to desert the settlement, first by the selfish Wingfield, and again by the imbecile Ratcliffe, could be defeated only after a skirmish, in which one of the leaders was killed ; and the danger of a precipitate abandonment of Virginia continued to be imminent, till the approach of winter, when not only the homeward navigation became perilous, but the fear of famine was removed by the abundance of wild fowl and game.(1) Nothing then remained but to examine the country.

The South Sea was considered the ocean-path to every kind of wealth. The coast of America on the Pacific had been explored by the Spaniards, and had been visited by Drake ; the collections of Hakluyt had communicated to the English the results of their voyages, and the maps of that day exhibited a tolerably accurate delineation of the continent of North America. With singular ignorance of the progress of geographical knowledge, it had been expressly enjoined on the colonists to seek a communication with the South Sea by ascending some stream which flowed from the north-west.(2) The Chickahominy was such a stream. Smith, though he did not share the ignorance of his employers, was ever willing to engage in discoveries. Leaving the colonists to enjoy the abundance which winter had brought, he not only ascended the river as far as he could advance in boats, but struck into the interior. His companions disobeyed his instructions, and, being surprised by the Indians, were put to death. Smith himself, who, in the plains of the Crimea and of Southern Russia, had become acquainted with the superstitions and the manners of wandering tribes, did not beg for life, but preserved it by the calmness of self-possession. Displaying a pocket compass, he amused the savages by an explanation of its powers, and increased their admiration of his superior genius, by imparting to them some vague conceptions of the form of the earth and the nature of the planetary system. To the Indians, who retained him as their prisoner, his captivity was a more strange event than anything of which the traditions of their tribes preserved the memory. He was allowed to send a letter to the fort at Jamestown ; and the savage wonder was increased ; for he seemed, by some magic, to

(1) Smith, i. 1—54, and 154, 155. Purchas, iv. 1690. Stith, 48.

(2) Stith, 43.

endow the paper with the gift of intelligence. The curiosity of all the clans of the neighbourhood was awakened by the prisoner ; he was conducted in triumph from the settlements on the Chickahominy to the Indian villages on the Rappahannock and the Potomac ; and thence, through other towns, to the residence of Opechanough, at Pamunkey. There, for the space of three days, they practised incantations and ceremonies, in the hope of obtaining some insight into the mystery of his character and his designs. It was evident that he was a being of a higher order : was his nature benificent, or was he to be dreaded as a dangerous enemy ? Their minds were bewildered, as they beheld his calm fearlessness ; and they sedulously observed towards him the utmost reverence and hospitality, as if to propitiate his power, should he be rescued from their hands. The decision of his fate was referred to Powhatan, who was then residing in what is now Gloucester county, on York River, at a village to which Smith was conducted through the regions, now so celebrated, where the youthful Lafayette hovered upon the skirts of Cornwallis, and the arms of France and the Confederacy were united to achieve the crowning victory of American independence. The passion of vanity rules in forests as well as in cities ; the grim warriors, as they met in council, displayed their gayest apparel before the Englishman, whose doom they had assembled to pronounce. The fears of the feeble aborigines were about to prevail ; and his immediate death, already repeatedly threatened and repeatedly delayed, would have been inevitable, but for the timely intercession of Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, a girl "of tenne" or "twelve" "years old ; which not only for feature, countenance, and expression, much exceeded any of the rest of his people, but for wit and spirit, was the only nonpareil of the country." The gentle feelings of humanity are the same in every race, and in every period of life ; they bloom, though unconsciously, even in the bosom of a child. Smith had easily won the confiding fondness of the Indian maiden ; and now the impulse of mercy awakened within her breast ; she clung firmly to his neck, as his head was bowed to receive the strokes of the tomahawk. Did the childlike superstition of her kindred reverence her interference as a token from a superior power ? Her fearlessness and her entreaties persuaded

the council to spare the agreeable stranger, who might make hatchets for her father, and rattles and strings of beads for herself, the favourite child. The barbarians, whose decision had long been held in suspense by the mysterious awe which Smith had inspired, now resolved to receive him as a friend, and to make him a partner of their councils. They tempted him to join their bands, and lend assistance in an attack upon the white men at Jamestown ; and when his decision of character succeeded in changing the current of their thoughts, they dismissed him with mutual promises of friendship and benevolence. Thus the captivity of Smith did itself become a benefit to the colony ; for he had not only observed with care the country between the James and the Potomac, and had gained some knowledge of the language and manners of the natives, but he now established a peaceful intercourse between the English and the tribes of Powhatan ; and, with her companions, the child who had rescued him from death, afterwards came every few days to the fort with baskets of corn for the garrison.(1)

Returning to Jamestown, Smith found the colony reduced to forty men ; and of these, the strongest were again preparing to escape with the pinnace. This third attempt at desertion he repressed at the hazard of his life.(2) Thus passed the first few months of colonial existence in discord and misery ; despair relieved and ruin prevented, by the fortitude of one man, and the benevolence of an Indian girl.

Meantime, the council in England, having received an increase of its numbers and its powers, determined to send out new recruits and supplies ; and Newport had hardly returned from his first voyage, before he was again despatched with one hundred and twenty emigrants. Yet the joy in Virginia on their arrival was of short continuance ; for the new comers were chiefly vagabond gentlemen and goldsmiths, who, in spite of the remonstrances of Smith, gave a wrong direction to the industry of the

(1) Smith, i. 158—162, and ii. 29—33. The account is fully contained in the oldest book printed on Virginia, in our Cambridge library. It is a thin quarto, in black letter, by John Smith, printed in 1608 : “A True Relation of such occurrences and accidents of note, as hath hapned in Virginia since the first planting of that Collony, which is now resident in the South part thereof, till the last returne.”

(2) Smith, i. 163, 164.

colony. They believed they had discovered grains of gold in a glittering earth which abounded near Jamestown ; and "there was now no talk, no hope, no work, but dig gold, wash gold, refine gold, load gold." The refiners were enamoured of their skill. Martin, one of the council, promised himself honours in England as the discoverer of a mine ; and Newport, having made an unnecessary stay of fourteen weeks, and having, in defiance of the assurances of Powhatan, expected to find the Pacific just beyond the falls in James River, believed himself immeasurably rich, as he embarked for England with a freight of worthless earth.(1)

Disgusted at the follies which he had vainly opposed, Smith undertook the perilous and honourable office of exploring the vast Bay of the Chesapeake, and the numerous rivers which are its tributaries. Two voyages, made in an open boat, with a few companions, over whom his superior courage, rather than his station as a magistrate, gave him authority, occupied him about three months of the summer, and embraced a navigation of nearly three thousand miles.(2) The slenderness of his means has been contrasted with the dignity and utility of his discoveries, and his name has been placed in the highest rank with the distinguished men who have enlarged the bounds of geographical knowledge, and opened the way by their investigations for colonies and commerce. He surveyed the Bay of the Chesapeake to the Susquehannah, and left only the borders of that remote river to remain for some years longer the fabled dwelling-place of a giant progeny.(3) He was the first to make known to the English the fame of the Mohawks, "who dwelt upon a great water, and had many boats, and many men," and, as it seemed to the feebler Algonquin tribes, "made war upon all the world :" in the Chesapeake Bay he encountered a little fleet of their canoes.(4) The Patapsco was discovered and explored, and Smith probably entered the harbour of Baltimore.(5) The majestic Potomac, which at its mouth is seven miles broad, especially invited curiosity ; and, passing beyond the heights of Vernon and the city of Washington, he ascended to the falls above Georgetown.(6) Nor did he merely explore the rivers and inlets. He

(1) Smith, i. 165—172.

(2) Smith, i. 173—192, ii. 100.

(3) Burk, i. 123.

(4) Smith, i. 181—183.

(5) Stith, 64.

(6) Compare Smith, i. 177, with Stith, 65, and Smith's map.

penetrated the territories, established friendly relations with the native tribes, and laid the foundation for future beneficial intercourse. The map(1) which he prepared and sent to the company in London(2) is still extant, and delineates correctly the great outlines of nature. The expedition was worthy the romantic age of American history.

Three days after his return, Smith was made president of the council. Order and industry began to be diffused by his energetic administration, when Newport, with a second supply, entered the river. About seventy new emigrants arrived; two of them, it merits notice, were females. The angry covetousness of a greedy but disappointed corporation was now fully displayed. As if their command could transmute minerals, narrow the continent, and awaken the dead, they demanded a lump of gold, or a certain passage to the South Sea, or, a feigned humanity added, one of the lost company, sent by Sir Walter Raleigh.(3) The charge of the voyage was two thousand pounds; unless the ship should return full freighted with commodities, corresponding in value to the costs of the adventure, the colonists were threatened that "they should be left in Virginia as banished men."(4) Neither had experience taught the company to engage suitable persons for Virginia. "When you send again," Smith was obliged to write, "I entreat you rather send but thirty carpenters, husbandmen, gardeners, fishermen, blacksmiths, masons, and diggers up of trees' roots, well provided, than a thousand of such as we have."

After the departure of the ships, Smith employed 1609. his authority to enforce industry. Six hours in the day were spent in work; the rest might be given to pastime. The gentlemen had been taught the use of the axe, and had become accomplished woodcutters. "He who would not work, might not eat;" and Jamestown assumed the appearance of a regular place of abode. Yet so little land had been cultivated—not more than thirty or forty acres in all—that it was still necessary for English-

(1) In the Richmond edition, opposite page 149; in Purchas, iv. opposite page 1691.

(2) Smith's letter, in Hist. i. 202.

(3) Smith, i. 192, 193.

(4) Smith's letter, in History, i. 200, 201; also, Smith's advertisements for the unexperienced, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 10.

men to solicit food from the indolent Indians, and Europeans, to preserve themselves from starving, were billeted among the sons of the forest. Thus the season passed away ; of two hundred in the colony, not more than seven died.(1)

The golden anticipations of the London company had not been realized. But the cause of failure appeared in the policy, which had grasped at sudden emoluments ;(2) the enthusiasm of the English seemed exalted by the train of misfortunes ; and more vast and honourable plans (3) were conceived, which were to be effected by more numerous and opulent associates. Not only were the limits of the colony extended, the company was enlarged by the subscriptions of many of the nobility and gentry of England, and of the tradesmen of London ; and the name of the powerful Cecil, the inveterate enemy and successful rival of Raleigh, appears at the head of those (4) who were to carry into execution the vast design to which Raleigh, now a close prisoner in the tower, had first awakened the attention of his countrymen. At the request of the corporation, which was become a very powerful body, without any regard to the rights or wishes of those who had already emigrated under the sanction of existing laws, the constitution of Virginia was radically changed.

The new charter (5) transferred to the company the powers which had before been reserved to the king. The supreme council in England was now to be chosen by the stockholders themselves, and, in the exercise of the powers of legislation and government, was independent of the monarch. The governor in Virginia might rule the colonists with uncontrolled authority, according to the tenor of the instructions and laws established by the council, or, in want of them, according to his own good discretion, even in cases capital and criminal, not less than civil ; and, in the event of mutiny or rebellion, he might declare martial law, being himself the judge of the necessity of the measure, and the executive officer in its administration. Thus the lives, liberty, and fortune of the colonists were placed at the arbitrary will of a governor who was to be

(1) Smith, i. 202, 222—229.

(2) Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 10—12.

(3) Hakluyt's Dedication of Virginia richly valued, v.

(4) Hening, i. 81—88.

(5) In Hening, Stith, and Hazard, ii.

appointed by a commercial corporation. As yet not one valuable civil privilege was conceded to the emigrants.(1)

Splendid as were the auspices of the new charter, unlimited as were the powers of the patentees, the next events in the colony were still more disastrous. Lord Delaware,(2) distinguished for his virtues as well as rank, received the appointment of governor and captain-general for life; an avarice which would listen to no possibility of defeat, and which already dreamed of a flourishing empire in America, surrounded him with stately officers, suited by their titles and nominal charges to the dignity of an opulent kingdom.(3) The condition of the public mind favoured colonization; swarms of people desired to be transported; and the adventurers, with cheerful alacrity, contributed free-will offerings.(4) The widely-diffused enthusiasm soon enabled the company to despatch a fleet of nine vessels, containing more than five hundred emigrants. The admiral of the fleet was Newport, who, with Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers, was authorized to administer the affairs of the colony till the arrival of Lord Delaware.(5)

The three commissioners had embarked on board the same ship.(6) When near the coast of Virginia, a hurricane(7) separated the admiral from the rest of his fleet, and his vessel was stranded on the rocks of the Bermudas. A small ketch perished; and(8) seven ships only arrived in Virginia.

A new dilemma ensued. The old charter was abrogated; and, as there was in the settlement no one who had any authority from the new patentees, anarchy seemed at hand. The emigrants of the last arrival were dissolute gallants, packed off to escape worse destinies at home,(9) broken tradesmen, gentlemen impoverished in spirit and

(1) Chalmers, 25.

(2) Walpole's Royal and Noble Authors, enlarged by Th. Park, ii. 180—183.

(3) Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. in 11, and Smith, ii. 106.

(4) True Declaration of Virginia, published by the Council of Virginia, in 1610, p. 59—a leading authority.

(5) Smith, i. 233, 234; or Purchas, iv. 1729.

(6) True Declaration, 19 and 21.

(7) Archer's letter, in Purchas, iv. 1733, 1734. Secretary Strachy's account, in Purchas, iv. 1735—1738. True Declaration of Virginia, 21—26.

(8) Smith, i. 234.

(9) Ibid. i. 235. Stith, 103.

fortune ; rakes and libertines, men more fitted to corrupt than to found a commonwealth. It was not the will of God that the new state should be formed of these materials ; that such men should be the fathers of a progeny, born on the American soil, who were one day to assert American liberty by their eloquence, and defend it by their valour. Hopeless as the determination appeared, Smith resolutely maintained his authority over the unruly herd, and devised new expeditions and new settlements, to furnish them occupation and support. At last, an accidental explosion of gunpowder disabled him, by inflicting wounds which the surgical skill of Virginia could not relieve.(1) Delegating his authority to Percy, he embarked for England. Extreme suffering from his wounds and the ingratitude of his employers were the fruits of his services. He received, for his sacrifices and his perilous exertions, not one foot of land, not the house he himself had built, not the field his own hands had planted, nor any reward but the applause of his conscience and the world.(2) He was the Father of Virginia, the true leader who first planted the Saxon race within the borders of the United States. His judgment had ever been clear in the midst of general despondency. He united the highest spirit of adventure with consummate powers of action. His courage and self-possession accomplished what others esteemed desperate. Fruitful in expedients, he was prompt in execution. Though he had been harassed by the persecutions of malignant envy, he never revived the memory of the faults of his enemies. He was accustomed to lead, not to send his men to danger ; would suffer want rather than borrow, and starve sooner than not pay.(3) He had nothing counterfeit in his nature ; but was open, honest, and sincere. He clearly discerned, that it was the true interest of England not to seek in Virginia for gold and sudden wealth, but to enforce regular industry. "Nothing," said he, "is to be expected thence, but by labour."(4)

The colonists, no longer controlled by an acknowledged

(1) Smith, i. 239.

(2) Smith, ii. 102. Virginia's Verger, in Purchas, iv. 1815.

(3) Smith, i. 241. It is hardly necessary to add, that much of Smith's "General Historie" is a compilation of the works of others. Compare Belknap, i. 303, 304.

(4) Answers in Smith, ii. 106.

authority, were soon abandoned to improvident idleness. Their ample stock of provisions was rapidly consumed ; and further supplies were refused by the Indians, whose friendship had been due to the personal influence of Smith, and who now regarded the English with a fatal contempt. Stragglers from the town were cut off; parties who begged food in the Indian cabins, were deliberately murdered ; and plans were laid to starve and destroy the whole company. The horrors of famine ensued ; while a band of about thirty, seizing on a ship, escaped to become pirates, and to plead their desperate necessity as an excuse for their crimes.(1) Smith, at his departure, had left more than four hundred and ninety persons in the colony ;(2) in six months, indolence, vice, and famine reduced the number to sixty ; and these were so feeble and dejected, that, if relief had been delayed but ten days longer, they also must have utterly perished.(3)

Sir Thomas Gates and the passengers, whose ship^{1610.} had been wrecked on the rocks of the Bermudas, had reached the shore without the loss of a life. The liberal fertility of the uninhabited island, teeming with natural products, for nine months sustained them in affluence. From the cedars which they felled, and the wrecks of their old ship, they, with admirable perseverance, constructed two vessels, in which they now embarked for Virginia,(4) in the hope of a happy welcome to the abundance of a prosperous colony. How great, then, was their horror, as they came among the scenes of death and misery, of which the gloom was increased by the prospect of continued scarcity ! Four pinnaces remained in the river ; nor could the extremity of distress listen to any other course than to sail for Newfoundland, and seek safety by dispersing the company among the ships of English fishermen.(5) The colonists—such is human nature—desired to burn the town in which they had been so wretched, and the exercise of their infantile vengeance was prevented only by the energy of Gates,(6) who was himself the last

(1) True Declaration, 35—39. Compare Stith, 116, 117 ; Smith, ii. 2.

(2) Smith, i. 240.

(3) Purchas, iv. 1732 and 1766 ; Stith, 117 ; True Declaration, 47, or Smith, ii. 4, says four days.

(4) True Declaration of Virginia, 23—26.

(5) Ibid. 43, 44.

(6) Ibid. 45. Smith, ii. 3.

to desert the settlement. "None dropped a tear, for none had enjoyed one day of happiness." They fell down the stream with the tide ; but, the next morning, as they drew near the mouth of the river, they encountered the long-boat of Lord Delaware, who had arrived on the coast with emigrants and supplies. The fugitives bore up the helm, and, favoured by the wind, were that night once more at the fort in Jamestown.(1)

It was on the 10th day of June that the restoration of the colony was solemnly begun by supplications to God. A deep sense of the infinite mercies of his providence overawed the colonists who had been spared by famine, the emigrants who had been shipwrecked and yet preserved, and the new comers who found wretchedness and want where they had expected the contentment of abundance. The firmness of their resolution repelled despair. "It is," said they, "the arm of the Lord of Hosts, who would have his people pass the Red Sea and the wilderness, and then possess the land of Canaan."(2) Dangers avoided inspire trust in Providence. "Doubt not," said the emigrants to the people of England, "God will raise our state and build his church in this excellent clime." After solemn exercises of religion, Lord Delaware caused his commission to be read ; a consultation was immediately held on the good of the colony, and its government was organized with mildness, but decision. The evils of faction were healed by the unity of the administration, and the dignity and virtues of the governor ; and the colonists, excited by mutual emulation, performed their tasks with alacrity. At the beginning of the day they assembled in the little church, which was kept neatly trimmed with the wild flowers of the country ;(3) next, they returned to their houses to receive their allowance of food. The settled hours of labour were from six in the morning till ten, and from two in the afternoon till four. The houses were warm and secure, covered above with strong boards, and matted on the inside after the fashion of the Indian wigwams. Security and affluence were returning. But the health of Lord Delaware sunk under the cares of his situation and the diseases of the climate ; and, after a lingering sickness, he was compelled to leave

(1) True Declaration, 45, 46.

(2) Ibid. 48.

(3) Purchas, iv. 1753.

the administration with Percy, and return to England.(1) The colony at this time consisted of about two hundred men ; but the departure of the governor was a disastrous event, which produced not only despondency at Jamestown, but a “damp of coldness” in the hearts of the London company, and a great reaction in the popular mind in England. In the age when the theatre was the chief place of public amusement and resort, Virginia was introduced by the stage-poets as a theme of scorn and derision.(2) “This plantation,” complained they of Jamestown, “has undergone the reproofs of the base world ; our own brethren laugh us to scorne ; and papists and players, the scum and dregs of the earth, mocke such as help to build up the walls of Jerusalem.”(3)

Fortunately, the adventurers, before the ill-success^{1611.} of Lord Delaware was known, had despatched Sir Thomas Dale, “a worthy and experienced soldier in the Low Countries,” with liberal supplies. He arrived safely in the colony, and assumed the government, which he soon afterwards administered upon the basis of martial law. The code, written in blood, and printed and sent to Virginia by the treasurer, Sir Thomas Smith, on his own authority, and without the order or assent of the company, was chiefly a translation from the rules of war of the United Provinces. The Episcopal Church, coeval in Virginia with the settlement of Jamestown, was, like the infant commonwealth, subjected to military rule ; and, though conformity was not strictly enforced, yet courts-martial had authority to punish indifference with stripes, and infidelity with death. The introduction of this arbitrary system excited no indignation in the colonists, who had never obtained any franchises, and no surprise in the adventurers in England, who regarded the Virginians as the garrison of a distant citadel, more than as citizens and freemen. The charter of the London company (4) had invested the governor with full authority, in cases of rebellion and mutiny, to exercise martial law ; and, in the

(1) *The New Life of Virginia*, 1612, republished in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 199—223, and by P. Force, 1835. *The Relation of Lord De la Warre*, printed in 1611.

(2) *Epistle Dedicatore to the New Life of Virginia*. In Force, p. 4.

(3) *For the Colony in Virginea Britannia, Lawes Divine, Morall, and Martial*. London, 1612.

(4) See the Charter, sec. xxiv. Compare Smith, ii. 10, 11; Stith, 122, 123, and 293; Purchas, iv. 1767.

condition of the settlement, this seemed a sufficient warrant for making it the law of the land.

The letters of Dale to the council confessed the small number and weakness of the colonists ; but he kindled hope in the hearts of those constant adventurers, who, in the greatest disasters, had never fainted. "If anything otherwise than well betide me," said he, "let me commend unto your carefulness the pursuit and dignity of this business, than which your purses and endeavours will never open nor travel in a more meritorious enterprise. Take four of the best kingdoms in Christendom, and put them all together, they may no way compare with this country, either for commodities or goodness of soil."(1) Lord De-laware and Sir Thomas Gates earnestly confirmed what Dale had written, and without any delay, Gates, who has the honour, to all posterity, of being the first named in the original patent for Virginia, conducted to the New World six ships, with three hundred emigrants. Long afterwards the gratitude of Virginia to these early emigrants was shown by repeated acts of benevolent legislation. A wise liberality sent also a hundred kine, as well as suitable provisions. It was the most fortunate step which had been taken, and proved the wisdom of Cecil and others, whose firmness had prevailed.

The promptness of this relief merits admiration. In May, Dale had written from Virginia, and the last of August the new recruits, under Gates, were already at Jamestown. So unlooked for was this supply, that, at their approach they were regarded with fear as a hostile fleet. Who can describe the joy which ensued when they were found to be friends ? Gates assumed the government amidst the thanksgivings of the colony, and at once endeavoured to employ the sentiment of religious gratitude as a foundation of order and of laws. "Lord bless England, our sweet native country," was the morning and evening prayer of the grateful emigrants.(2) The colony now numbered seven hundred men ; and Dale, with the consent of Gates, went far up the river to found the new plantation, which, in honour of Prince Henry, a general favourite with the English people, was named Henrico ; and there, on the remote frontier, Alexander Whitaker, the self-denying "apostle of Virginia," assisted in "bear-

(1) New Life of Virginia, ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 207.

(2) Praier said morning and evening, in Lawes Divine, &c. p. 92.

ing the name of God to the Gentiles." But the greatest change in the condition of the colonists resulted from the incipient establishment of private property. To each man a few acres of ground were assigned for his orchard and garden, to plant at his pleasure and for his own use. So long as industry had been without its special reward, reluctant labour, wasteful of time, had been followed by want. Henceforward, the sanctity of private property was recognized as the surest guarantee of order and abundance. Yet the rights of the Indians were little respected; nor did the English disdain to appropriate by conquest, the soil, the cabins, and the granaries of the tribe of the Appomattocks.

While the colony was advancing in strength and happiness, the third patent for Virginia granted to the adventurers in England the Bermudas and all islands within 1612. three hundred leagues of the Virginia shore—a concession of no ultimate importance in American history, since the new acquisitions were soon transferred to a separate company. But the most remarkable change effected in the charter, a change which contained within itself the germ of another revolution, consisted in giving to the corporation a democratic form. Hitherto all power had resided in the council, which, it is true, was to have its vacancies supplied by the majority of the corporation. But now it was ordered, that weekly or even more frequent meetings of the whole company, might be convened for the transaction of affairs of less weight; while all questions respecting government, commerce, and the disposition of lands, should be reserved for the four great and general courts, at which all officers were to be elected, and all laws established. The political rights of the colonists themselves remained unimproved; the character of the corporation was entirely changed; power was transferred from the council to the company, and its sessions became the theatre of bold and independent discussion. A perverse financial privilege was at the same time conceded; and lotteries, though unusual in England, were authorized for the benefit of the colony. The lotteries produced to the company twenty-nine thousand pounds; but as they were esteemed 1621. a grievance by the nation, so they were, after a few years, noticed by Parliament as a public evil, and, in consequence of the complaint of the Commons, were suspended by an order of council.

^{1612.} If the new charter enlarged the powers of the company, the progress of the colony confirmed its stability. Tribes even of the Indians submitted to the English, and, by a formal treaty, declared themselves the tributaries of King James. A marriage was the immediate cause of this change of relations.

A foraging party of the colonists, headed by Argall, having stolen the daughter of Powhatan, demanded of her father a ransom. The indignant chief prepared rather for hostilities. But John Rolfe, "an honest and discreet" ^{1613.} young Englishman, an amiable enthusiast, who had emigrated to the forests of Virginia, daily, hourly, and, as it were, in his very sleep, heard a voice crying in his ears, that he should strive to make her a Christian. With the solicitude of a troubled soul, he reflected on the true end of being. "The Holy Spirit"—such are his own expressions—"demanded of me why I was created;" and conscience whispered that, rising above "the censure of the low-minded," he should lead the blind in the right path. Yet still he remembered that God had visited the sons of Levi and Israel with his displeasure, because they sanctified strange women; and might he, indeed, unite himself with "one of barbarous breeding and of a cursed race?" After a great struggle of mind, and daily and believing prayers, in the innocence of pious zeal, he resolved "to labour for the conversion of the unregenerated maiden;" and, winning the favour of Pocahontas, he desired her in marriage. Quick of comprehension, the youthful princess received instruction with docility; and soon, in the little church of Jamestown,—which rested on rough pine columns, fresh from the forest, and was in a style of rugged architecture as wild, if not as frail, as an Indian's wigwam,—she stood before the font, that out of the trunk of a tree "had been hewn hollow like a canoe," "openly renounced her country's idolatry, professed the faith of Jesus Christ, and was baptized." "The gaining of this one soul," "the first-fruits of Virginian conversion," was followed by her nuptials with Rolfe. In April, 1613, to the joy of Sir Thomas Dale, with the approbation of her father and friends, Opachisco, her uncle, gave the bride away; and she stammered before the altar her marriage vows, according to the rites of the English service.

Every historian of Virginia commemorates the union with approbation; distinguished men trace from it their

descent. In 1616, the Indian wife, instructed in the English language, and bearing an English name, "the first Christian ever of her nation," sailed with her husband for England. The daughter of the wilderness possessed the mild elements of female loveliness, half concealed, as if in the bud, and rendered the more beautiful by the child-like simplicity with which her education in the savannahs of the New World had invested her. How could she fail to be caressed at court, and admired in the city? As a wife, and as a young mother, her conduct was exemplary. She had been able to contrast the magnificence of European life with the freedom of the western forests; and now, as she was preparing to return to America, at the age of twenty-two, she fell a victim ^{1617.} to the English climate,—saved, as if by the hand of mercy, from beholding the extermination of the tribes from which she sprung, leaving a spotless name, and dwelling in memory under the form of perpetual youth.

The immediate fruits of the marriage to the colony were a confirmed peace, not with Powhatan alone, but also with the powerful Chickahominies, who sought the friendship of the English, and demanded to be called Englishmen. It might have seemed that the European and the native races were about to become blended; yet no such result ensued. The English and the Indians remained at variance, and the weakest gradually disappeared.

The colony seemed firmly established, and its ^{1613.} governor asserted for the English the sole right of colonizing the coast to the latitude of forty-five degrees. In 1613, sailing in an armed vessel, as a protector to the fishermen off the coast of Maine, Samuel Argall, a young sea-captain, of coarse passions and arbitrary temper, discovered that the French were just planting a colony near the Penobscot, on Mount Desert Isle; and, hastening to the spot, after cannonading the intrenchments, and a sharp discharge of musketry, he gained possession of the infant hamlet of St. Sauveur. The cross round which the faithful had gathered was thrown down; and the cottages, and the ship in the harbour, were abandoned to pillage. Of the colonists, some were put on board a vessel for St. Malo, others transported to the Chesapeake.

The news of French encroachments roused the jealousy of Virginia. Immediately Argall sailed once more to the north; raised the arms of England where those of De

Guercheville had been planted; threw down the fortifications of De Monts on the Isle of St. Croix; and set on fire the deserted settlement of Port Royal. Thus did England vindicate her claim to Maine and Acadia, and the London company avenge the invasion of its monopolies.

Returning from Acadia, Argall entered the port of New York, to assert the sovereignty of England; but there is no room to believe he ascended the Hudson.

Meantime, the people of England exulted in the anticipated glories of the rising state in Virginia. The theatre rung with its praise: Shakspeare, whose friend, the "popular" Earl of Southampton, was a leader in the Virginia company, echoed the general enthusiasm. His splendid prophecy promised the English nation the possession of a hemisphere, and extolled King James, as the patron of colonies, "like the mountain cedar, reaching his branches to all the plains about him."

"Wherever the bright sun of heaven shall shine,
His honour and the greatness of his name
Shall be, and make new nations."

Sir Thomas Gates, leaving the government with ^{1614.} Dale, embarked for England, where he employed himself in reviving the courage of the London company. In May, 1614, a petition for aid was presented to the House of Commons, and was received with unusual solemnity. It was supported by Lord Delaware, whose affection for Virginia ceased only with life. "All it requires," said he, "is but a few honest labourers, burdened with children;" and he moved for a committee to consider of relief. But disputes with the monarch led to a separation of the Commons; and it was not to lotteries or privileged companies, to parliaments or kings, that the new state was to owe its prosperity. Private industry, directed to the culture of a valuable staple, was more productive than the patronage of England, and tobacco enriched Virginia.

¹⁶¹³⁻ The condition of private property in lands, among ^{1616.} the colonists, depended, in some measure, on the circumstances under which they had emigrated. Some had been sent and maintained at the exclusive cost of the company, and were its servants. One month of their time and three acres of land were set apart for them, besides a small allowance of two bushels of corn from the public

store ; the rest of their labour belonged to their employers. This number gradually decreased ; and, in 1617, there were of them all, men, women, and children, but fifty-four. Others, especially the favourite settlement near the mouth of the Appomattox, were tenants, paying two and a half barrels of corn as a yearly tribute to the store, and giving to the public service one month's labour, which was to be required neither at seed-time nor harvest. He who came himself, or had sent others at his own expense, had been entitled to a hundred acres of land for each person : now that the colony was well established, the bounty on emigration was fixed at fifty acres, of which the actual occupation and culture gave a further right to as many more, to be assigned at leisure. Besides this, lands were granted as rewards of merit ; yet not more than two thousand acres could be so appropriated to one person. A payment to the company's treasury of twelve pounds and ten shillings likewise obtained a title to any hundred acres of land not yet granted or possessed, with a reserved claim to as much more. Such were the earliest land laws of Virginia : though imperfect and unequal, they gave the cultivator the means of becoming a proprietor of the soil. These valuable changes were established by Sir Thomas Dale, a magistrate who, notwithstanding the introduction of martial law, has gained praise for his vigour and industry, his judgment and conduct. Having remained five years in America, and now desiring to visit England and his family, he appointed George Yeardley deputy-governor, and embarked for his native country.(1)

The labour of the colony had long been misdirected ; in the manufacture of ashes and soap, of glass and tar, the colonists could not sustain the competition with the nations on the Baltic. Much fruitless cost had been incurred in planting vineyards. It was found that tobacco might be profitably cultivated. The sect of gold-finders had become extinct ; and now the fields, the gardens, the public squares, and even the streets of Jamestown, were planted with tobacco ;(2) and the colonists dispersed, unmindful of security in their eagerness for gain. Tobacco, as it gave animation to Virginian industry, eventually became not only the staple, but the currency of the colony.

(1) Stith, 138—140.

(2) Smith, ii. 33.

With the success of industry and the security of property, the emigrants needed the possession of political rights. It is an evil incident to a corporate body, that 1617. its officers separate their interests as managers from their interests as partial proprietors. This was found to be none the less true where an extensive territory was the estate to be managed; and imbibited parties contended for the posts of emolument and honour. It was under the influence of a faction which rarely obtained a majority, that the office of deputy-governor was intrusted to Argall. Martial law was at that time the common law of the country: that the despotism of the new deputy, who was both self-willed and avaricious, might be complete, he was further invested with the place of admiral of the country and the adjoining seas.(1)

The return of Lord Delaware to America might have restored tranquillity; the health of that nobleman was not equal to the voyage; he embarked with many emigrants, but did not live to reach Virginia.(2) The tyranny of Argall was, therefore, left unrestrained; but his indiscriminate rapacity and vices were destined to defeat themselves, and procure for the colony an inestimable benefit; for they led him to defraud the company, as well as to oppress the colonists. The condition of Virginia 1618. became intolerable; the labour of the settlers was perverted to the benefit of the governor; servitude, for a limited period, was the common penalty annexed to trifling offences; and, in a colony where martial law still continued in force, life itself was insecure against his capricious passions. The first appeal ever made from America to England, directed, not to the king, but to the company, was in behalf of one whom Argall had wantonly condemned to death, and whom he had with great difficulty been prevailed upon to spare.(3) The colony was fast falling into disrepute, and the report of the tyranny established beyond the Atlantic checked emigration. A reformation was demanded, and was conceded, with guarantees for the future; because the interests of the colonists and the company coincided in requiring a redress of their common

(1) Stith, 145.

(2) Stith, 148. In Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 180—183, Lord Delaware is said to have died at Wherwell, Hants, June 7, 1618. The writers on Virginia uniformly relate that he died at sea. Smith, ii. 34.

(3) Stith, 150—153.

wrongs. After a strenuous contest on the part of rival factions for the control of the company, the influence of Sir Edwin Sandys prevailed; Argall was displaced, and 1619. the mild and popular Yeardley was now appointed captain-general of the colony. But before the new chief magistrate could arrive in Virginia, Argall had withdrawn, having previously, by fraudulent devices, preserved for himself and his partners the fruits of his extortions. The London company suffered the usual plagues of corporations—faithless agents and fruitless suits.(1)

The administration of Yeardley began with acts of benevolence. The ancient planters were fully released from all further service to the colony, and were confirmed in the possession of their estates, both personal and real, as amply as the subjects of England. The burdens imposed by his predecessor were removed, and martial law gradually disappeared.(2) But these were not the only benefits conferred through Yeardley; his administration marks an era in the progress of American liberty.

By the direction of the London company,(3) the authority of the governor was limited by a council, which had power to redress such wrongs as he should commit; and the colonists themselves were received to a share in legislation. In June, 1619, the first colonial assembly that ever met in Virginia(4) was convened at Jamestown. The governor, the newly-appointed council, and two representatives from each of the eleven boroughs, hence called burgesses, constituted the first popular representative body of the western hemisphere. All matters were debated which were thought expedient for the good of the colony. The legislative enactments of these earliest American law-givers, now no longer extant, could not be of force till they were ratified by the company in England. It does not appear that the ratification took place; yet they were acknowledged to have been, "in their greatest part, very well and judiciously carried." The gratitude of the Virginians was expressed with cheerful alacrity; former griefs were buried in oblivion; and the representatives of the colony expressed their "greatest possible thanks"

(1) Stith, 154, 157. The company's Chief Root of the Differences and Discontents, in Burk, i. 317—322; the leading authority, written in 1623.

(2) Stith, 158—161. Chalmers, 44.

(3) State of Virginia, 1620, pp. 6, 7; a rare tract, of the highest authority.

(4) Hening, i. 118.

for the care of the company in settling the plantation.(1)

This was the happy dawn of legislative liberty in America. They who had been dependent on the will of a governor, claimed the privileges of Englishmen, and demanded a code based upon the English laws. They became willing to regard Virginia as their country ; "they fell to building houses and planting corn,"(2) and fearlessly resolved to perpetuate the colony.

The patriot party in England, now possessed of the control of the London company, engaged with earnestness in schemes to advance the population and establish the liberties of Virginia ; and Sir Edwin Sandys, the new treasurer, was a man of such judgment and firmness, that no intimidations, not even threats of blood, could deter him from investigating and reforming the abuses by which the progress of the colony had been retarded.(3) At his accession to office, after twelve years' labour, and an expenditure of eighty thousand pounds by the company, there were in the colony no more than six hundred persons, men, women, and children ; and now, in one year, he provided a passage to Virginia for twelve hundred and sixty-one persons. Nor must the character of the emigration be overlooked. "The people of Virginia had not been settled in their minds ;" and as, before the recent changes, they had gone there with the design of ultimately returning to England, it was necessary to multiply attachments to the soil. Few women had as yet dared to cross the Atlantic ; but now the promise of prosperity induced ninety agreeable persons, young and incorrupt,(4) to listen to the wishes of the company and the benevolent advice of Sandys, and to embark for the colony, where they were assured of a welcome. They were transported at the expense of the corporation, and were married to the tenants of the company, or to men who were well able to support them, and who willingly defrayed the costs of their passage, which were rigorously demanded.(5) The adven-

(1) Stith, 160, 161 ; Smith, ii. 39 ; Ancient Records, in Hening, i. 121, 122 ; State of Virginia, 1620, p. 7 ; Purchas, iv. 1775, 1776. Chalmers, 44, perversely attributes to the colonial assembly the language employed by the London company.

(2) Hammond ; Leah and Rachel, 3.

(3) Chief Root, &c., Burk, i. 323 ; Stith, 159.

(4) A Note of the Shipping, Men, and Provisions sent to Virginia in 1619, pp. 1, 2, 3 ; Stith, 165.

(5) Sandys, in Stith, 166.

ture, which had been in part a mercantile speculation,
 1620. succeeded so well, that it was designed to send the
 next year another consignment of one hundred ;(1)
 but before these could be collected, the company found
 itself so poor that its design could be accomplished only
 1621. by a subscription. After some delays, sixty were
 actually despatched,—maids of virtuous education,
 young, handsome, and well recommended. The price rose
 from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty
 pounds of tobaccoo, or even more ; so that all the original
 charges might be repaid. The debt for a wife was a debt
 of honour, and took precedence of any other ; and the
 company, in conferring employments, gave a preference to
 the married men. Domestic ties were formed ; virtuous sen-
 timents and habits of thrift ensued ; the tide of emigration
 1619- swelled ; within three years, fifty patents for land
 1621. were granted, and three thousand five hundred per-
 sons found their way to Virginia,(2) which was a refuge
 even for Puritans.(3)

The deliberate and formal concession of legislative
 1620. liberties was an act of the deepest interest. When
 Sandys, after a year's service, resigned his office as trea-
 surer, a struggle ensued on the election of his successor.
 The meeting was numerously attended ; and, as the courts
 of the company were now become the schools of debate,
 many of the distinguished leaders of Parliament were
 present. King James attempted to decide the struggle ;
 and a message was communicated from him, nominating
 four candidates, one of whom he desired should receive
 the appointment. The company resisted the royal
 1621. interference as an infringement of their charter ; and
 while James exposed himself to the disgrace of an unsuc-
 cessful attempt at usurpation, the choice of the meeting
 fell upon the Earl of Southampton, the early friend of
 Shakspeare. Having thus vindicated their own rights,
 the company proceeded to redress former wrongs, and
 to provide colonial liberty with its written guaranties.(4)

In the case of the appeal to the London company from
 a sentence of death pronounced by Argall, the friends of
 that officer had assembled, with the Earl of Warwick at

(1) Supplies for 1620, p. 11, annexed to State of Virginia, 1620.

(2) Stith, 196 ; State of Virginia, 1622, p. 6, &c.

(3) Whitaker, in Purchas.

(4) Stith, 176—181.

their head, and had voted that trial by martial law is the noblest kind of trial, because soldiers and men of the sword were the judges. This opinion was now reversed, and the rights of the colonists to trial by jury amply sustained. Nor was it long before the freedom of the northern fisheries was equally asserted ; and the early history of New England will explain with what success the monopoly of a rival corporation was opposed.(1)

The company had silently approved, yet never expressly sanctioned, the colonial assembly which had been convened by Sir George Yeardley. It was in July, 1621, that a memorable ordinance (2) established for the colony a written constitution. The form of government prescribed for Virginia was analogous to the English constitution, and was, with some modifications, the model of the systems which were afterwards introduced into the various royal provinces. Its purpose was declared to be “the greatest comfort and benefit to the people, and the prevention of injustice, grievances, and oppression.” Its terms are few and simple : a governor, to be appointed by the company ; a permanent council, likewise to be appointed by the company ; a general assembly, to be convened yearly, and to consist of the members of the council, and of two burgesses, to be chosen from each of the several plantations by their respective inhabitants. The assembly might exercise full legislative authority, a negative voice being reserved to the governor ; but no law or ordinance would be valid, unless ratified by the company in England. With singular justice, and a liberality without example, it was further ordained, that, after the government of the colony shall have once been framed, no orders of the court in London shall bind the colony, unless they be in like manner ratified by the general assembly. The courts of justice were required to conform to the laws and manner of trial used in the realm of England.

Such was the constitution which Sir Francis Wyatt, the successor of the mild but inefficient Yeardley, was commissioned to bear to the colony. The system of representative government and trial by jury was thus established in the new hemisphere as an acknowledged right ; the colonists, ceasing to depend as servants on a commercial company, now became enfranchised citizens.

(1) Stith, 181—185. Gorges, c. xvii.—xxii.

(2) Hening, i. 110, 111.

Henceforward, the supreme power was held to reside in the hands of the colonial parliament, and of the king, as king of Virginia. The ordinance was the basis on which Virginia erected the superstructure of its liberties. Its influences were wide and enduring, and can be traced through all following years of the history of the colony. It constituted the plantation, in its infancy, a nursery of freemen ; and succeeding generations learned to cherish institutions which were as old as the first period of the prosperity of their fathers. The privileges which were now conceded, could never be wrested from the Virginians ; and, as new colonies arose at the south, their proprietaries could hope to win emigrants only by bestowing franchises as large as those enjoyed by their elder rival. The London company merits the fame of having acted as the successful friend of liberty in America. It may be doubted, whether any public act during the reign of King James was of more permanent or pervading influence ; and it reflects glory on the Earl of Southampton, Sir Edwin Sandys, and the patriot party of England, who, unable to establish guaranties of a liberal administration at home, were careful to connect popular freedom so intimately with the life, prosperity, and state of society of Virginia, that they never could be separated.

CHAPTER V.

SLAVERY.—DISSOLUTION OF THE LONDON COMPANY.

WHILE Virginia, by the concession of a representative government, was constituted the asylum of liberty, by one of the strange contradictions in human affairs, it became the abode of hereditary bondsmen. The unjust, wasteful, and unhappy system was fastened upon the rising institutions of America, not by the consent of the corporation, nor the desires of the emigrants ; but, as it was introduced by the mercantile avarice of a foreign nation, so it was subsequently riveted by the policy of England, without regard to the interests or the wishes of the colony.

Slavery and the slave-trade are older than the records of human society : they are found to have existed, wherever the savage hunter began to assume the habits of pastoral or agricultural life ; and, with the exception of Australasia, they have extended to every portion of the globe. They pervaded every nation of civilized antiquity. The earliest glimpses of Egyptian history exhibit pictures of bondage ; the oldest monuments of human labour on the Egyptian soil are evidently the results of slave labour. The founder of the Jewish nation was a slave-holder and a purchaser of slaves. Every patriarch was lord in his own household.(1)

The Hebrews, when they burst the bands of their own thraldom, carried with them beyond the desert the institution of slavery. The light that broke from Sinai scattered the corrupting illusions of polytheism ; but slavery planted itself even in the promised land, on the banks of Siloa, near the oracles of God. The Hebrew father might doom his daughter to bondage ; the wife, and children, and posterity of the emancipated slave, remained the property of the master and his heirs ; and if a slave, though mortally wounded by his master, did but languish of his wounds for a day, the owner escaped with impunity ; for the slave was his master's money. It is even probable, that, at a later period, a man's family might be sold for the payment of debts.(2)

The countries that bordered on Palestine were equally familiar with domestic servitude ; and, like Babylon, Tyre also, the oldest and most famous commercial city of Phenicia, was a market "for the persons of men."(3) The Scythians of the desert had already established slavery throughout the plains and forests of the unknown north.

Old as are the traditions of Greece, the existence of slavery is older. The wrath of Achilles grew out of a quarrel for a slave ; the Grecian dames had crowds of servile attendants ; the heroes before Troy made excursions into the neighbouring villages and towns to enslave the inhabitants. Greek pirates, roving, like the corsairs of Barbary, in quest of men, laid the foundations of Greek commerce ; each commercial town was a slave-

(1) Gen. xii. 16 ; xvii. 12 ; xxxvii. 28.

(2) Exodus, xxi. 4, 5, 6, 7, 21. Matthew, xviii. 25.

(3) Ezekiel, xxvii. 13. Revelation, xviii. 13.

mart ; and every cottage near the sea-side was in danger from the kidnapper.(1) Greeks enslaved each other. The language of Homer was the mother-tongue of the Helots ; the Grecian city that made war on its neighbour city, exulted in its captives as a source of profit ; (2) the hero of Macedon sold men of his own kindred and language into hopeless slavery. The idea of universal free labour had not been generated. Aristotle had written that all mankind are brothers ; yet the thought of equal enfranchisement never presented itself to his sagacious understanding. In every Grecian republic, slavery was an indispensable element.

The wide diffusion of bondage throughout the dominions of Rome, and the extreme severities of the Roman law towards the slave, contributed to hasten the fall of the Roman commonwealth. The power of the father to sell his children, of the creditor to sell his insolvent debtor, of the warrior to sell his captive, carried the influence of the institution into the bosom of every Roman family ; into the conditions of every contract ; into the heart of every unhappy land that was invaded by the Roman eagle. The slave-markets of Rome were filled with men of every complexion and every clime.(3)

When the freedom of savage life succeeded in establishing its power on the ruins of the Roman empire, the great swarms of Roman slaves began to disappear ; but the middle age witnessed rather a change in the channels of the slave-trade, than a diminution of its evils. The pirate, and the kidnapper, and the conqueror, still continued their pursuits. The Saxon race carried the most repulsive forms of slavery to England, where not half the population could assert a right to freedom, and where the price of a man was but four times the price of an ox. The importation of foreign slaves was freely tolerated : in defiance of severe penalties, the Saxons sold their own kindred into slavery on the continent ; nor could the traffic be checked, till religion, pleading the cause of humanity, made its appeal to conscience. Even after
^{1102.} the conquest, slaves were exported from England to Ireland, till the reign of Henry II., when a national

(1) Thucydides, I. i. c. v.

(2) Arist. Pol. I. i. c. 2, censures the practice, which was yet the common law.

(3) Senecæ Epist. xv. Agmina exoletorum, per nationes coloresque descripta, &c. De Brevit. Vit. c. xii.

synod of the Irish, to remove the pretext for an invasion, decreed the emancipation of all English slaves in the island.(1)

The German nations made the shores of the Baltic the scenes of the same desolating traffic ; and the Dnieper formed the highway on which Russian merchants conveyed to Constantinople the slaves that had been purchased in the markets of Russia. The wretched often submitted to bondage, as the bitter but only refuge from absolute want. But it was the long wars between German and Slavonic tribes which imparted to the slave-trade its greatest activity, and filled France and the neighbouring states with such numbers of victims, that they gave the name of the Slavonic nation to servitude itself ; and every country of Western Europe still preserves in its language the record of the barbarous traffic in "Slaves."(2)

Nor did France abstain from the slave-trade. At Lyons and Verdun, the Jews were able to purchase slaves for their Saracen customers.(3)

In Sicily, and perhaps in Italy, the children of Asia and Africa, in their turn, were exposed for sale. The people of the wilderness and the desert are famed for love of their offspring ; yet in the extremity of poverty, even the Arab father would sometimes pawn his children to the Italian merchant, in the vain hope of soon effecting their ransom. Rome itself long remained a mart where Christian slaves were exposed for sale, to supply the domestic market of Mahometans. The Venetians, in their commercial intercourse with the ports of unbelieving nations, as well as with Rome, purchased alike infidels and Christians, and sold them again to the Arabs in Sicily and Spain. Christian and Jewish avarice supplied the slave-market of the Saracens. What though the trade was exposed to the censure of the church and prohibited by the laws of Venice ? It could not be effectually checked, till by the Venetian law no slave might enter a Venetian ship, and to tread the deck of an argosy of Venice became the privilege and the evidence of freedom.(4)

The spirit of the Christian religion would, before the

(1) Wilkins's *Concilia*, i. 383, 471. Compare Lyttleton's *Henry II.* iii. ; Turner, Lingard, Anderson.

(2) Hüne's *Darstellung*, i. 102 and ff.

(3) Fischer, in Hüne, i. 115.

(4) Fischer, in Hüne, i. 116. Marin, in Heeren, ii. 260.

discovery of America, have led to the entire abolition of the slave-trade, but for the hostility between the Christian church and the followers of Mahomet. In the twelfth century, Pope Alexander III., true to the spirit of his office, which, during the supremacy of brute force in the middle age, made of the chief minister of religion the tribune of the people and the guardian of the oppressed, had written, that "Nature having made no slaves, all men have an equal right to liberty." (1) But the slave-trade had never relented among the Mahometans: the captive Christian had no alternative but apostasy or servitude, and the captive infidel was treated in Christendom with corresponding intolerance. In the days of the crusaders, and in the camp of the leader whose pious arms redeemed the sepulchre of Christ from the mixed nations of Asia and Lybia, the price of a war-horse was three slaves. The Turks, whose law forbids the enslaving of a Mahometan, still continue to sell Christian captives; and we have seen that the father of Virginia had himself tasted the bitterness of Turkish bondage.

All this might have had no influence on the destinies of America, but for the long and doubtful struggles between Christians and Moors in the west of Europe; where, for more than seven centuries, and in more than three thousand battles, the two religions were arrayed against each other; and bondage was the reciprocal doom of the captive. Bigotry inflamed revenge, and animated the spirit of merciless and exterminating warfare. France and Italy were filled with Saracen slaves; the number of them sold into Christian bondage exceeded the number of all the Christians ever sold by the pirates of Barbary. The clergy, who had pleaded successfully for the Christian, felt no sympathy for the unbeliever. The final victory of the Spaniards over the Moors of Granada—an event contemporary with the discovery of America—was signalized by a great emigration of the Moors to the coasts of Northern Africa, where each mercantile city became a nest of pirates, and every Christian the wonted booty of the successful corsair. Servitude was thus the doom of the Christian in Northern Africa: the hatred of the Moorish dominion extending to all Africa, an indiscri-

(1) See his letter to Lupus, King of Valencia, in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores*; Londini, 1652, i. 580. Cum autem omnes liberos natura creasset, nullus conditione naturae fuit subditus servituti.

minate and retaliating bigotry felt no remorse at dooming the sons of Africa to bondage. All Africans were esteemed as Moors.

The amelioration of the customs of Europe had proceeded from the influence of religion. It was the clergy who had broken up the Christian slave-markets at Bristol and at Hamburg, at Lyons and at Rome. At the epoch of the discovery of America, the moral opinion of the civilized world had abolished the traffic in Christian slaves, and was fast demanding the emancipation of the serfs; but bigotry had favoured a compromise with avarice, and the infidel was not yet included within the pale of humanity.

Yet negro slavery is not an invention of the white man. As Greeks enslaved Greeks, as the Hebrew often consented to make the Hebrew his absolute lord, as Anglo-Saxons trafficked in Anglo-Saxons, so the negro race enslaved its own brethren. The oldest accounts of the land of the negroes, like the glimmering traditions of Egypt and Phenicia, of Greece and of Rome, bear witness to the existence of domestic slavery and the caravans of dealers in negro slaves. The oldest Greek historian (1) commemorates the traffic. Negro slaves were seen in classic Greece, and were known at Rome and in the Roman empire. It is from about the year 990, that regular accounts of the negro slave-trade exist. At that period, Moorish merchants from the Barbary coast first reached the cities of Nigritia, and established an uninterrupted exchange of Saracen and European luxuries for the gold and slaves of Central Africa. Even though whole caravans were sometimes buried in the sands of the desert, and at others, without shade and without water, suffered the horrors of parching thirst under a tropical sun, yet the commerce extended because it was profitable; and before the genius of Columbus had opened the path to a new world, the negro slave-trade had been reduced to a system by the Moors, and had spread from the native regions of the Æthiopian race to the heart of Egypt on the one hand, and to the coasts of Barbary on the other.(2)

(1) Herodotus, l. iv. c. 181—185. Compare Heeren, xiii. 187 and 231; Blair's Roman Slavery, 24.

(2) Edrisius and Leo Africanus, in Hüne, i. 150—163. Hüne's volumes deserve to be more known.

But the danger for America did not end here. The traffic of Europeans in negro slaves was fully established before the colonization of the United States, and had existed a half century before the discovery of America.

It was not long after the first conquests of the 1415. Portuguese in Barbary, that the passion for gain, the love of conquest, and the hatred of the infidels, conducted their navy to the ports of Western Africa ; and the first ships which sailed so far south as Cape Blanco, re-1441. turned, not with negroes, but with Moors. The subjects of this importation were treated, not as labourers, but rather as strangers, from whom information respecting their native country was to be derived. Antony 1443. Gonzalez, who had brought them to Portugal, was commanded to restore them to their ancient homes. He did so, and the Moors gave him as their ransom, not gold only, but "black Moors," with curled hair. Thus negro slaves came into Europe ; and mercantile cupidity immediately observed, that negroes might become an object of lucrative commerce. New ships were despatched without delay.(1) Spain also engaged in the traffic : the 1444. historian of her maritime discoveries even claims for her the unenviable distinction of having anticipated the Portuguese in introducing negroes into Europe.(2) The merchants of Seville imported gold dust and slaves from the western coast of Africa ;(3) and negro slavery, though the severity of bondage was mitigated in its character by benevolent legislation,(4) was established in Andalusia, and "abounded in the city of Seville," before the enterprise of Columbus was conceived.(5)

The maritime adventurers of those days, joining the principles of bigots with the bold designs of pirates and heroes, esteemed the wealth of the countries which they might discover as their rightful plunder, and the inhabitants, if Christians, as their subjects—if infidels, as their

(1) Galvano, in Hakluyt, iv. 413 ; De Pauw, *Rech. Phil.* i. 21.

(2) Navarette, *Introduccion*, s. xix.

(3) Prescott's *Ferdinand and Isabella*.

(4) Zuniga, *Annales de Sevilla*, 373, 374. The passage is very remarkable : "Avia anos que desde los Puertos de Andaluzia se frequentava navegacion à los costas de Africa, y Guinea, de donde se traian esclavos, de que ya abundava esta ciudad, &c. &c. 373. Eran en Sevilla los negros tratados con gran benignidad, desde el tiempo de el Rey Don Henrique Tercero," &c. &c. 374. I owe the opportunity of consulting Zuniga to W. H. Prescott, of Boston.

(5) Irving's *Columbus*, ii. 351, 352 ; Herrera, d. i. l. iv. c. xii.

slaves. Even Indians of Hispaniola were imported into Spain. Cargoes of the natives of the north were early and repeatedly kidnapped. The coasts of America, like the coasts of Africa, were visited by ships in search of labourers ; and there was hardly a convenient harbour on the whole Atlantic frontier of the United States which was not entered by slavers.(1) The native Indians themselves were ever ready to resist the treacherous merchant ; the freemen of the wilderness, unlike the Africans, among whom slavery had existed from immemorial time, would never abet the foreign merchant, or become his factors in the nefarious traffic. Fraud and force remained, therefore, the means by which, near Newfoundland or Florida, on the shores of the Atlantic, or among the Indians of the Mississippi valley, Cortereal and Vasquez de Ayllon, Porcallo and Soto, with private adventurers, whose names and whose crimes may be left unrecorded, transported the natives of North America into slavery in Europe and the Spanish West Indies. The glory of Columbus himself

^{1494.} did not escape the stain ; enslaving five hundred

^{1500.} native Americans, he sent them to Spain, that they might be publicly sold at Seville.(2)

The generous Isabella commanded the liberation of the Indians held in bondage in her European possessions.(3) Yet her active benevolence extended neither to the Moors, whose valour had been punished by slavery, nor to the Africans ; and even her compassion for the New World was but the transient feeling, which relieves the miserable who are in sight, not the deliberate application of a just principle. For the commissions for making discoveries, issued a few days before and after her interference to rescue those whom Columbus had enslaved, reserved for herself and

^{1501.} Ferdinand a fourth part(4) of the slaves which the new kingdoms might contain. The slavery of Indians was recognized as lawful.(5)

The practice of selling the natives of North America into foreign bondage continued for nearly two centuries ;

(1) Compare Peter Martyr d'Anghiera, d. vii. c. i. and ii. in Hakluyt, v. 404, 405, 407.

(2) Irving's Columbus, b. viii. c. v.

(3) Navarette, Coll. ii. 246, 247.

(4) Esclavos, é negros, é loros que en estos nuestros reinos sean habidos é reputados por esclavos, &c. Navarette, ii. 245, and again, ii. 249.

(5) See a cédula on a slave contract, in Navarette, iii. 514, 515, given June 20, 1501.

and even the sternest morality pronounced the sentence of slavery and exile on the captives whom the field of battle had spared. The excellent Winthrop enumerates Indians among his bequests.(1) The articles of the early New England confederacy class persons among the spoils of war. A scanty remnant of the Pequod tribe(2) in Connecticut, the captives treacherously made by Waldron in New Hampshire,(3) the harmless fragments of the tribe of Annawon,(4) the orphan offspring of King Philip himself,(5) were all doomed to the same hard destiny of perpetual bondage. The clans of Virginia and Carolina,(6) for more than a hundred years, were hardly safe against the kidnapper. The universal public mind was long and deeply vitiated.

It was not Las Casas who first suggested the plan of transporting African slaves to Hispaniola ; Spanish slave-holders, as they emigrated, were accompanied by their negroes. The emigration may at first have been contraband ; but a royal edict soon permitted negro slaves, born in slavery among Christians, to be transported to Hispaniola.(7) Thus the royal ordinances of Spain authorized negro slavery in America. Within two years, there were such numbers of Africans in Hispaniola, that Ovando, 1503. the governor of the island, entreated that the importation might no longer be permitted.(8) The Spanish government attempted to disguise the crime, by forbidding the introduction of negro slaves, who had been bred in Moorish families,(9) and allowing only those who were said to have been instructed in the Christian faith, to be transported to the West Indies, under the plea that they might assist in converting the infidel nations. But the idle pretence was soon abandoned ; for should faith in Christianity be punished by perpetual bondage in the colonies ? And would the purchaser be scrupulously inquisitive of the

(1) Winthrop's N. E., ii. 360.

(2) Ibid. i. 234.

(3) Belknap's Hist. of N. Hampshire, i. 75, Farmer's edition.

(4) Baylies's Plymouth, iii. 190.

(5) Davis, on Morton's Memorial, 454, 455. Baylies's Plymouth, iii. 190, 191.

(6) Hening, i. 481, 482. The act forbidding the crime proves what is, indeed, undisputed, its previous existence. Lawson's Carolina. Chalmers, 542.

(7) Herrera, d. i. l. iv. c. xii.

(8) Irving's Columbus, Appendix, No. 26, iii. 372, first American edition.

(9) Herrera, d. i. l. vi. c. xx.

birthplace and instruction of his labourers? Besides, the culture of sugar was now successfully begun; and the system of slavery, already riveted, was not long restrained by the scruples of men in power. King Ferdinand 1510. himself sent from Seville fifty slaves(1) to labour in the mines; and, because it was said that one negro could do the work of four Indians, the direct traffic in slaves 1511. between Guinea and Hispaniola was enjoined by a royal ordinance,(2) and deliberately sanctioned by repeated decrees.(3) Was it not natural that Charles 1512. 1513. V., a youthful monarch, surrounded by rapacious courtiers, should have readily granted licenses to the Flemings to transport negroes to the colonies? The benevolent Las Casas, who had seen the native inhabitants of the New World vanish away, like dew, before the cruelties of the Spaniards, who felt for the Indians all that an ardent charity and the purest missionary zeal could inspire, and who had seen the African thriving in robust(4) health under the sun of Hispaniola, returning 1517. from America to plead the cause of the feeble Indians, in the same year which saw the dawn of the Reformation in Germany, suggested the expedient,(5) that negroes might still further be employed to perform the severe toils which they alone could endure. The avarice of the Flemings greedily seized on the expedient; the board of trade at Seville was consulted, to learn how many slaves would be required. It had been proposed to allow four for each Spanish emigrant; deliberate calculation fixed the number esteemed necessary at four thousand. The very year in which Charles V. sailed with a powerful expedition against Tunis, to check the piracies of the Barbary states, and to emancipate Christian slaves in Africa, he gave an open legal sanction to the African slave-trade. The sins of the Moors were to be revenged on the negroes;

(1) Herrera, d. i. l. viii. c. ix.

(2) Ibid. d. i. l. ix. c. v. Herrera is explicit. The note of the French translator of Navarrete, i. 203, 204, needs correction. A commerce in negroes, sanctioned by the crown, was surely not contraband.

(3) Irving's Columbus, iii. 372.

(4) Ibid. iii. 370, 371.

(5) The merits of Las Casas have been largely discussed. The controversy seems now concluded. Irving's Columbus, iii. 367—378. Navarrete, Introducción, s. lviii. lix. The Memoir of Las Casas still exists in manuscript. Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xx. Robertson's America, b. iii. It may yet gratify curiosity to compare Grégoire, Apologie de B. Las Casas, in Mém. de l'Inst. Nat. An viii.; and Verplanck, in N. Y. Hist. Coll. iii. 49—53, and 103—105.

and the monopoly,(1) for eight years, of annually importing four thousand slaves into the West Indies, was eagerly seized by La Bresa, a favourite of the Spanish monarch, and was sold to the Genoese, who purchased their cargoes of Portugal. We shall, at a later period, have occasion to observe a stipulation for this lucrative monopoly, forming an integral part in a treaty of peace, established by a European Congress : shall witness the sovereign of the most free state in Europe stipulating for a fourth part of its profits ; and shall trace its intimate connection with the first in that series of wars which led to the emancipation of America. Thus a hasty benevolence, too zealous to be just, attempted to save the natives of America by sanctioning an equal oppression of another race. But covetousness, and not a mistaken benevolence, established the slave-trade, which had nearly received its development before the charity of Las Casas was heard in defence of the Indians. Reason,(2) policy,(3) and religion, alike condemned the traffic. A series of papal bulls had indeed secured to the Portuguese the exclusive commerce with Western Africa ; but the slave-trade between Africa and America was, I believe, never expressly sanctioned by the see of Rome. The spirit of the Roman church was against it. Even Leo X., though his voluptuous life, making of his pontificate a continued carnival, might have deadened the sentiments of humanity and justice, declared,(4) that "not the Christian religion only, but nature herself, cries out against the state of slavery."

And Paul III., in two separate briefs,(5) imprecated 1537. a curse on the Europeans who should enslave Indians, or any other class of men. It even became usual for Spanish vessels, when they sailed on a voyage of discovery, to be attended by a priest, whose benevolent duty it was,

(1) Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xx.

(2) *Inter dominum et servum nulla amicitia est ; etiam in pace belli tamen jura servantur.* Quintus Curtius, l. vii. c. viii. John Locke, who sanctioned slavery in Carolina, gives a similar definition of it : "The perfect condition of slavery is the state of war continued between a lawful conqueror and a captive." Compare, also, Montesquieu de l'Esprit des Lois, l. xv. c. v. on negro slavery.

(3) See A. Q. Review, for Dec. 1832, for the effects of slavery in Virginia.

(4) Grahame's United States, ii. 18. Clarkson's History of the Abolition of the Slave-Trade, i. 35, American edition. Clarkson, i. 33, 34, says that Charles V. lived to repent his permission of slavery, and to order emancipation. The first is probable ; yet Herrera, d. ii. l. ii. c. xx. denounces not slavery, but the monopoly of the slave-trade.

(5) See the brief, in Remesal, Hist. de Chiappa, l. iii. c. xvi. xvii.

to prevent the kidnapping of the aborigines.(1) The legislation of independent America has been emphatic (2) in denouncing the hasty avarice which entailed the anomaly of negro slavery in the midst of liberty. Ximenes, the gifted coadjutor of Ferdinand and Isabella, the stern grand inquisitor, the austere but ambitious Franciscan, saw in advance the danger which it required centuries to reveal, and refused to sanction the introduction of negroes into Hispaniola ; believing(3) that the favourable climate would increase their numbers, and infallibly lead them to a successful revolt. A severe retribution has manifested his sagacity : Hayti, the first spot in America that received African slaves, was the first to set the example of African liberty. But for the slave-trade, the African race would have had no inheritance in the New World.

The odious distinction of having first interested
 1562. England in the slave-trade belongs to Sir John Hawkins. He had fraudulently transported a large cargo of Africans to Hispaniola ; the rich returns of sugar, ginger, and pearls, attracted the notice of Queen Elizabeth ; and
 1567. when a new expedition was prepared, she was induced not only to protect, but to share the traffic.(4) In the accounts which Hawkins himself gives (5) of one of his expeditions, he relates that he set fire to a city, of which the huts were covered with dry palm leaves, and out of eight thousand inhabitants, succeeded in seizing two hundred and fifty. The deliberate and even self-approving frankness with which this act of atrocity is related, and the lustre which the fame of Hawkins acquired, display in the strongest terms the depravity of public sentiment in the age of Elizabeth. The leader in these expeditions was not merely a man of courage ; in all other emergencies he knew how to pity the unfortunate, even when they were not his countrymen, and to relieve their wants with cheerful liberality.(6) Yet the commerce, on the part of the English, in the Spanish ports, was by the laws of Spain illicit, as well as by the laws of morals detestable ; and when the sovereign of England participated in its hazards,

(1) T. Southey's *West Indies*, i. 126.

(2) Walsh's *Appeal*, 306—342. Belknap's *Correspondence with Tucker*, i. Mass. Hist. Coll. iv. 190—211.

(3) Irving, iii. 374, 375.

(4) Compare Hakluyt, ii. 351, 352, with iii. 594 ; Hewat's *Carolina*, i. 20—26 ; Keith's *Virginia*, 31 ; Anderson's *History of Commerce*.

(5) Hakluyt, iii. 618, 619.

(6) *Ibid.* iii. 418, 419, 612—614.

its profits, and its crimes, she became at once a smuggler and a slave merchant.(1)

A ship of one Thomas Keyser and one James Smith,
1645. the latter a member of the church of Boston, first brought upon the colonies the guilt of participating in the traffic in African slaves. They sailed "for Guinea to trade for negroes;"(2) but throughout Massachusetts the cry of justice was raised against them as malefactors and murderers; Richard Saltonstall, a worthy assistant, felt himself moved by his duty as a magistrate, to denounce the act of stealing negroes as "expressly contrary to the law of God and the law of the country;"(3) the guilty men were committed for the offence;(4) and, after advice with the elders, the representatives of the people, bearing
1646. "witness against the heinous crime of man-stealing," ordered the negroes to be restored, at the public charge, "to their native country, with a letter expressing the indignation of the general court" at their wrongs.(5)

When George Fox visited Barbadoes in 1671, he
1671. enjoined it upon the planters, that they should "deal mildly and gently with their negroes; and that, after certain years of servitude, they should make them free." The idea of George Fox had been anticipated by the fel-
1652. low-citizens of Gorton and Roger Williams. Nearly twenty years had then elapsed since the representatives of Providence and Warwick, perceiving the disposition of people in the colony "to buy negroes," and hold them "as slaves for ever," had enacted that "no black mankind" should, "by covenant, bond, or otherwise," be held to perpetual service; the master, "at the end of ten years, shall set them free, as the manner is with English servants; and that man that will not let" his slave "go free, or shall sell him away, to the end that he may be enslaved to others for a longer time, shall forfeit to the colony forty pounds."(6) Now, forty pounds was nearly twice the value of a negro slave. The law was not enforced; but the principle lived among the people.

Conditional servitude, under indentures or covenants,

(1) Lingard, viii. 306, 307.

(2) Winthrop, ii. 243, 244, 245.

(3) Winthrop, ii. 379, 380.

(4) Colony Records, iii. 45.

(5) Colony Laws, c. xii.

(6) George Fox's Journal, An. 1671. The law of Rhode Island I copied from the records in Providence.

had from the first existed in Virginia. The servant stood to his master in the relation of a debtor, bound to discharge the costs of emigration by the entire employment of his powers for the benefit of his creditor. Oppression early ensued ; men who had been transported into Virginia at an expense of eight or ten pounds, were sometimes sold for forty, fifty, or even threescore pounds.(1) The supply of white servants became a regular business ; and a class of men nicknamed spirits used to delude young persons, servants and idlers, into embarking for America, as to a land of spontaneous plenty.(2) White servants came to be a usual article of traffic. They were sold in England to be transported, and in Virginia were resold to the highest bidder ; like negroes, they were to be purchased on shipboard, as men buy horses at a fair.(3) In 1672, the average price in the colonies, where five years of service were due, was about ten pounds ; while a negro was worth twenty or twenty-five pounds.(4) So usual was this manner of dealing in Englishmen, that not the Scots only, who were taken in the field of Dunbar, were sent into involuntary servitude in New England,(5) but the royalist prisoners of the battle of Worcester ;(6) and the leaders in the insurrection of Penruddoc,(7) in spite of the remonstrance of Haselrig and Henry Vane, were shipped to America. At the corresponding period, in Ireland, the crowded exportation of Irish Catholics was a frequent event, and was attended by aggravations hardly inferior to the usual atrocities of the African slave-trade.(8) In 1685, when nearly a thousand of the prisoners, condemned for participating in the insurrection of Monmouth, were sentenced to transportation, men of influence at court, with rival importunity, scrambled for the convicted insurgents as a merchantable commodity.(9)

The condition of apprenticed servants in Virginia differed from that of slaves chiefly in the duration of their

(1) Smith, i. 105.

(2) Bullock's Virginia, 1649, p. 14.

(3) Sad State of Virginia, 1657, p. 4, 5 ; Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 7.

(4) Blome's Jamaica, 84 and 16.

(5) Cromwell and Cotton, in Hutchinson's Coll. 233—235.

(6) Suffolk County Records, i. 5 and 6. The names of 270 are recorded. The lading of the John and Sarah was "ironwork, household stuff, and other provisions for planters and Scotch prisoners." Recorded May 14, 1652.

(7) Burton's Diary, iv. 262, 271. Godwin's Commonwealth, iv. 172.

(8) Lingard, xi. 131, 132.

(9) Dalrymple. Mackintosh, Hist. of the Revolution of 1688.

bondage ; and the laws of the colony favoured their early enfranchisement.(1) But this state of labour easily admitted the introduction of perpetual servitude. The commerce of Virginia had been at first monopolized by the company ; but as its management for the benefit of the corporation led to frequent dissensions, it was in 1620. 1620 laid open to free competition.(2) In the month of August of that year, just fourteen months after the first representative assembly of Virginia, four months before the Plymouth colony landed in America, and less than a year before the concession of a written constitution, more than a century after the last vestiges of hereditary slavery had disappeared from English society and the English constitution, and six years after the Commons of France had petitioned for the emancipation of every serf in every fief, a Dutch man-of-war entered James River, and landed twenty negroes for sale.(3) This is, indeed, the sad epoch of the introduction of negro slavery in the English colonies ; but the traffic would have been checked in its infancy, had its profits remained with the Dutch. Thirty years after this first importation of Africans, the increase had been so inconsiderable, that to one black, Virginia contained fifty whites ;(4) and, at a later period, after seventy years of its colonial existence, the number of its negro slaves was proportionably much less than in several of the free states at the time of the war of independence. It is the duty of faithful history to trace events, not only to their causes, but to their authors ; and we shall hereafter inquire what influence was ultimately extended to counteract the voice of justice, the cry of humanity, and the remonstrances of colonial legislation. Had no other form of servitude been known in Virginia than such as had been tolerated in Europe, every difficulty would have been promptly obviated by the benevolent spirit of colonial legislation. But a new problem in the history of man was now to be solved. For the first time the Ethiopian and Caucasian races were to meet together in nearly equal numbers beneath a temperate zone. Who could foretell the issue ? The negro race, from the first, was regarded with disgust, and its union with the whites

(1) Hening, i. 257.

(2) Stith, 171.

(3) Beverley's Virginia, 35. Stith, 182 ; Chalmers, 49 ; Burk, i. 211 ; and Hening, i. 146, all rely on Beverley.

(4) New Description of Virginia.

forbidden under ignominious penalties.(1) For many years the Dutch were principally concerned in the slave-trade in the market of Virginia; the immediate demand for labourers may, in part, have blinded the eyes of the planters to the ultimate evils of slavery,(2) though the laws of the colony, at a very early period, discouraged its increase by a special tax upon female slaves.(3)

If Wyatt, on his arrival in Virginia, found the evil
1621. of negro slavery engrafted on the social system, he brought with him the memorable ordinance on which the fabric of colonial liberty was to rest, and which was interpreted by his instructions (4) in a manner favourable to the independent rights of the colonists. Justice was established on the basis of the laws of England, and an amnesty of ancient feuds proclaimed. As Puritanism had appeared in Virginia, "needless novelties" in the forms of worship were now prohibited. The order to search for minerals betrays the continuance of lingering hopes of finding gold; while the injunction to promote certain kinds of manufactures was ineffectual, because labour could otherwise be more profitably employed.

The business which occupied the first session under the written constitution related chiefly to the encouragement of domestic industry; and the culture of silk particularly engaged the attention of the assembly.(5) But legislation, though it can favour industry, cannot create it. When soil, men, and circumstances, combine to render a manufacture desirable, legislation can protect the infancy of enterprise against the unequal competition with established skill. The culture of silk, long, earnestly, and frequently recommended to the attention of Virginia,(6) is successfully pursued only when a superfluity of labour exists in a redundant population. In America, the first wants of life left no labour without a demand: silk-worms could not be cared for where every comfort of household existence required to be created. Still less was the successful culture of the vine possible. The company had repeatedly sent vine-dressers, who had been set to work under the

(1) Hening, i. 146.

(2) This may be inferred from a paper on Virginia, in Thurloe, v. 81, or Hazard, i. 601.

(3) Hening, ii. 84, Act liv. March, 1662. The statute implies that the rule already existed.

(4) Ibid. i. 114—118. Stith, p. 194—196. Burk, v. i. p. 224—227.

(5) Ibid. i. 119.

(6) Virgo Triumphans, 35.

terrors of martial law, and whose efforts were continued after the establishment of regular government. But the toil was in vain. The extensive culture of the vine, unless singularly favoured by climate, succeeds only in a dense population, for a small vineyard requires the labour of many hands. It is a law of nature, that, in a new country under the temperate zone, corn and cattle will be raised, rather than silk or wine.

The first culture of cotton in the United States deserves commemoration. This year the seeds were planted as an experiment; and their "plentiful coming up" was, at that early day, a subject of interest in America and England.(1)

Nor did the benevolence of the company neglect to establish places of education, and provide for the support of religious worship. The bishop of London collected and paid a thousand pounds towards a university, which, like the several churches of the colony, was liberally endowed with domains.(2) Public and private charity were active;(3) but the lands were never occupied by productive labourers, and the system of obtaining a revenue through a permanent tenantry could meet with no success, for it was not in harmony with the condition of colonial society.

Between the Indians and the English there had been quarrels, but no wars. From the first landing of 1622. colonists in Virginia, the power of the natives was despised; their strongest weapons were such arrows as they could shape without the use of iron, such hatchets as could be made from stone; and an English mastiff seemed to them a terrible adversary.(4) Nor were their numbers considerable. Within sixty miles of Jamestown, it is computed, there were no more than five thousand souls, or about fifteen hundred warriors. The whole territory of the clans which listened to Powhatan as their leader or their conqueror, comprehended about eight thousand square miles, thirty tribes, and twenty-four hundred warriors; so that the Indian population amounted to about one inhabitant to a square mile.(5) The natives, naked

(1) Thorp's letter of May 17, 1621, in a marginal note in Purchas, iv. 1789.

(2) Stith, 162, 166, 172, 173.

(3) Mem. of Religious Charitic, in State of Virginia, 1622, p. 51—54.

(4) Smith, ii. 68. Stith, 211.

(5) Smith, i. 129. Compare Jefferson's Notes, Quære xi.; True Declaration of Virginia, 10. "The extent of a hundred miles was scarce peopled with two thousand inhabitants."

and feeble compared with the Europeans, were nowhere concentrated in considerable villages, but dwelt dispersed in hamlets, with from forty to sixty in each company. Few places had more than two hundred, and many had less.(1) It was also unusual for any large portion of these tribes to be assembled together. An idle tale of an ambuscade of three or four thousand is perhaps an error for three or four hundred, otherwise it is an extravagant fiction, wholly unworthy of belief.(2) Smith once met a party that seemed to amount to seven hundred; and, so complete was the superiority conferred by the use of fire-arms, that with fifteen men he was able to withstand them all.(3) The savages were therefore regarded with contempt or compassion. No uniform care had been taken to conciliate their good-will, although their condition had been improved by some of the arts of civilized life. The degree of their advancement may be judged by the intelligence of their chieftain. A house having been built for Opechancanough after the English fashion, he took such delight in the lock and key, that he would lock and unlock the door a hundred times a day, and thought the device incomparable.(4) When Wyatt arrived, the natives expressed a fear lest his intentions should be hostile: he assured them of his wish to preserve inviolable peace, and the emigrants had no use for fire-arms except against a deer or a fowl. Confidence so far increased, that the old law, which made death the penalty for teaching the Indians to use a musket, was forgotten, and they were now employed as fowlers and huntsmen.(5) The plantations of the English were widely extended, in unsuspecting confidence, along the James River, and towards the Potomac, wherever rich grounds invited to the culture of tobacco;(6) nor were solitary places, remote from neighbours, avoided, since there would there be less competition for the ownership of the soil.

Powhatan, the father of Pocahontas, remained, after the marriage of his daughter, the firm friend of the English. He died in 1618, and his younger brother was now the

(1) Smith, ii. 66. Purchas, iv. 1790. State of Virginia in 1622, p. 19. Heylin, b. iv. 96.

(2) Smith, i. 177, abundantly refuted by what "Smith writ with his own hand," i. 129. Burk, i. 311, 312, condemned too hastily.

(3) Smith, i. 129.

(4) Smith, ii. 68. Stith, 211.

(5) Ibid. ii. 103. Beverley, 38.

(6) Beverley, 38. Burk, i. 231, 232.

heir to his influence. Should the native occupants of the soil consent to be driven from their ancient patrimony? Should their feebleness submit patiently to contempt, injury, and the loss of their lands? The desire of self-preservation, the necessity of self-defence, seemed to demand an active resistance; to preserve their dwelling-places, the English must be exterminated; in open battle the Indians would be powerless; conscious of their weakness, they could not hope to accomplish their end except by a preconcerted surprise. The crime was one of savage ferocity, but it was suggested by their situation. They were timorous and quick of apprehension, and consequently treacherous, for treachery and falsehood are the vices of cowardice. The attack was prepared with impenetrable secrecy. To the very last hour the Indians preserved the language of friendship; they borrowed the boats of the English to attend their own assemblies; on the very morning of the massacre they were in the houses and at the tables of those whose death they were plotting. "Sooner," said they, "shall the sky fall, than peace be violated on our part." At length, on the 22nd of March, at mid-day, at one and the same instant of time, the Indians fell upon an unsuspecting population, which was scattered through distant villages, extending one hundred and forty miles, on both sides of the river. The onset was so sudden, that the blow was not discerned till it fell. None were spared: children and women, as well as men; the missionary, who had cherished the natives with untiring gentleness; the liberal benefactors, from whom they had received daily kindnesses,—all were murdered with indiscriminate barbarity, and every aggravation of cruelty. The savages fell upon the dead bodies, as if it had been possible to commit on them a fresh murder.

In one hour three hundred and forty-seven persons were cut off. Yet the carnage was not universal, and Virginia was saved from so disastrous a grave.(1) The night before the execution of the conspiracy, it was revealed by a converted Indian to an Englishman whom he wished to rescue; Jamestown and the nearest settlements were well prepared against an attack; and the savages, as timid

(1) On the Massacre: a Declaration of the State of Virginia, with a Relation of the barbarous Massacre, &c. &c. 1622. This is the groundwork of the narrative in Smith, ii. 65—76, and of Purchas, iv. 1788—1791. Stith, 208—213.

as they were ferocious, fled with precipitation from the appearance of wakeful resistance. Thus the larger part of the colony was saved.(1) A year after the massacre, there still remained two thousand five hundred men; the total number of the emigrants had exceeded four thousand. The immediate consequences of this massacre were disastrous. Public works were abandoned;(2) the culture of the fields was much restricted; the settlements were reduced from eighty plantations to less than eight.(3) Sickness prevailed among the dispirited colonists, who were now crowded into narrow quarters; some even returned to England. But plans of industry were eventually succeeded by schemes of revenge, and a war of extermination ensued. In England, the news, far from dispiriting the adventurers, awakened them to strong feelings of compassionate interest; the purchase of Virginia was endeared by the sacrifice of so much life, and the blood of the victims became the nurture of the plantation.(4) New supplies and assistance were promptly despatched; even King James, for a moment, affected a sentiment of generosity, and, like the churl, gave from the tower of London presents of arms which had been thrown by as good for nothing in Europe. They might be useful, thought the monarch, against the Indians! He also made good promises, which were never fulfilled.(5) The city of London contributed to repair the losses of the Virginians, and many private persons displayed an honourable liberality.(6) Smith volunteered his services to protect the planters, overawe the savages, and make discoveries; the company had no funds, and his proposition was never made a matter of public discussion or record; but some of the members, with ludicrous cupidity, proposed he should have leave to go at his own expense, if he would grant the corporation one-half of the pillage.(7) There were in the colony much loss and much sorrow, but never any serious apprehensions of discomfiture from the Indians. The midnight surprise, the ambuscade by day, might be feared; the Indians promptly fled on the least indications of watchfulness and resistance. There were not wanting

(1) State of Virginia, in 1622, p. 18. Purchas, iv. 1792, says 1,800 survived; probably inexact. Compare Holmes, i. 178, note.

(2) Stith, 281, 219, 218.

(3) Purchas, iv. 1792. Virginia's Verger, in Purchas, iv. 1816. Stith, 235.

(4) Stith, 233.

(5) Burk, i. 248, 249.

(6) Ibid. 232, 233.

(7) Smith, ii. 79—81. Stith, 234.

men who now advocated an entire subjection of those whom lenity could not win, and the example of Spanish cruelties was cited with applause.(1) Besides, a natural instinct had led the Indians to select for their villages the pleasantest places, along the purest streams, and near the soil that was most easily cultivated. Their rights of property were no longer much respected; their open fields and villages were now appropriated by the colonists, who could plead the laws of war in defence of their covetousness. Treachery also was employed. The tangled woods, the fastnesses of nature, were the bulwarks to which the savages retreated. Pursuit would have been vain; they could not be destroyed except as they were lulled into security, and induced to return to their old homes.(2)

In July of the following year, the inhabitants of 1623. the several settlements, in parties, under commissioned officers, fell upon the adjoining savages; and a law of the general assembly commanded, that in July of 1624 the attack should be repeated. Six years later the 1630. colonial statute-book proves that schemes of ruthless vengeance were still meditated; for it was sternly insisted that no peace should be concluded with the Indians,—a 1632. law which remained in force till a treaty in the administration of Harvey.(3)

Meantime, a change was preparing in the relations 1623. of the colony with the parent state. A corporation, whether commercial or proprietary, is, perhaps, the worst of sovereigns. Gain is the object which leads to the formation of those companies, and which constitutes the interest most likely to be fostered. If such a company be wisely administered, its colonists are made subservient to commercial avarice. If, on the other hand, the interests of the company are sacrificed, the colonists, not less than the proprietors, are pillaged for the benefit of faithless agents. Where an individual is the sovereign, there is room for an appeal to magnanimity, to benevolence, to the love of glory; where the privilege of self-government is enjoyed, a permanent interest is sure to gain the ultimate ascendancy; but corporate ambition is deaf to mercy, and insensible to shame.

The Virginia colony had been unsuccessful. A settle-

(1) Stith, 233. Smith, ii. 71, 72.

(2) Stith, 303.

(3) Burk, i. 275; ii. 37. Hening, i. 123, 153.

ment had been made ; but only after a vast expenditure of money, and a great sacrifice of human life. Angry factions distract unsuccessful institutions ; and the London company was now rent by two parties, which were growing more and more embittered. As the shares in the unproductive stock were of little value, the contests were chiefly for power ; and were not so much the wranglings of disappointed merchants, as the struggle of political leaders. The meetings of the company, which now consisted of a thousand adventurers, of whom two hundred or more usually appeared at the quarter courts,(1) were the scenes for freedom of debate, where the patriots, who in Parliament advocated the cause of liberty, triumphantly opposed the decrees of the privy council on subjects connected with the rights of Virginia. The unsuccessful party in the company naturally found an ally in the king ; it could hope for success only by establishing the supremacy of his prerogative ; and the monarch, dissatisfied at having intrusted to others the control of the colony, now desired to recover the influence of which he was deprived by a charter of his own concession. Besides, he disliked the freedom of debate. "The Virginia courts," said Gondemar, the Spanish envoy, to King James, "are but a seminary to a seditious Parliament."(2) Yet the people of England, regarding only the failure of their extravagant hopes in the American plantations, took little interest in the progress of the controversy which now grew up between the monarch and the corporation ; and the inhabitants of the colony were still more indifferent spectators of the strife, which related not to their liberties, but to their immediate sovereign.(3) Besides, there was something of retributive justice in the royal proceedings. The present proprietors enjoyed their privileges in consequence of a wrong done to the original patentees, and now suffered no greater injury than had been before inflicted on others for their benefit.(4)

At the meeting for the choice of officers, in 1622,
^{1622.} King James once more attempted to control the elections, by sending a message nominating several candidates,

(1) Stith, 282—286.

(2) New Description, ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 113.

(3) Jefferson's Notes on Virginia, 152, 153.

(4) Smith, ii. 107.

out of whom they were to choose their treasurer. The advice of the king was disregarded, and a great majority re-elected the Earl of Southampton.⁽¹⁾ Unable to get the control of the company by overawing their assemblies, the monarch now resolved upon the sequestration of the patent ; and raised no other question, than how the unjust design could most plausibly be accomplished, and the law of England be made the successful instrument of tyranny. The allegation of grievances, set forth by the court faction in a petition to the king, was fully refuted by the company, and the whole ground of discontent was answered by an explanatory declaration.⁽²⁾ Yet commissioners were appointed to engage in a general investigation of the concerns of the corporation ; the records were seized, the deputy-treasurer imprisoned, and private letters from Virginia intercepted for inspection.⁽³⁾ Smith was particularly examined ; his honest answers plainly exposed the defective arrangements of previous years, and favoured the cancelling of the charter as an act of benevolence to the colony.⁽⁴⁾

The result surprised every one : the king, by an order in council, made known that the disasters of Virginia were a consequence of the ill-government of the company ; that he had resolved, by a new charter, to reserve to himself the appointment of the officers in England, a negative on appointments in Virginia, and the supreme control of all colonial affairs. Private interests were to be sacredly preserved, and all grants of land to be renewed and confirmed. Should the company resist the change, its patent would be recalled.⁽⁵⁾ This was in substance a proposition to revert to the charter originally granted.

It is difficult to obtain a limitation of authority from a corporate body : an aristocracy is, of all forms of government, the most tenacious of life, and the least flexible in its purposes. The company heard the order in council with amazement : it was read three several times ; and after the reading, for a long while no man spoke a word. Should they tamely surrender privileges which were conceded according to the forms of law, had been possessed

¹ Burk, i. 257.

² In Burk, i. 316—330 ; Stith, 276, 277, and 291—297.

³ Stith, 298. Burk, i. 268. Rymer, xvii. 490—493.

⁴ Smith, ii. 103—108.

⁵ Burk, i. 269. Stith, 303, 304.

for many years, and had led them to expend large sums of money, that had as yet yielded no return? The corporation was inflexible, for it had no interest to yield. It desired only a month's delay, that all its members might take part in the final decision. The privy council peremptorily demanded a decisive answer within three days; and, at the expiration of that time, the surrender of the charter was strenuously refused.(1) The liberties of the company were a trust which might be yielded to superior force, but could not be freely abandoned without dishonour.

But the decision of the king was already taken; and commissioners were appointed to proceed to Virginia, to examine into the state of the plantation, to ascertain what expectations might be conceived, and to discover the means by which good hopes were to be realized.(2) John Harvey and Samuel Matthews, both distinguished in the annals of Virginia, were of the number of the committee.

It now only remained to issue a writ of *quo warranto* against the company. It was done; and, at the next quarter court, the adventurers—seven only opposing—confirmed the former refusal to surrender the charter, and made preparations for defence.(3) For that purpose, their papers were for a season restored. While they were once more in the hands of the company, they were fortunately copied; and the copy, having been purchased by a Virginian, was consulted by Stith, and gave to his history the authority of an original record.(4)

While these things were transacting in England,
^{1624.} the commissioners, early in the year, arrived in the colony. A meeting of the general assembly was immediately convened; and, as the company had refuted the allegations of King James, as opposed to their interests, so the colonists replied to them as contrary to their honour and good name. The principal prayer was, that the governors might not have absolute power; and that the liberty of popular assemblies might be retained; “for,” say they, “nothing can conduce more to the public satisfaction and the public utility.”(5) To urge this solicitation,

(1) Stith, 294—296. Burk, i. 269—271.

(2) Burk, i. 272, and note. Chalmers, 62, 76.

(3) Stith, 298, 299.

(4) Burk, i. 274. Hening, i. 76.

(5) Burk, i. 276, 277.

an agent was appointed to repair to England. The manner in which the expenses of the mission were borne, marks colonial times and manners, and the universality of the excitement. A tax of four pounds of the best tobacco was levied upon every male who was above sixteen years, and had been in the colony a twelvemonth.(1) The commissioner unfortunately died on his passage to Europe.(2)

The spirit of liberty had planted itself deeply among the Virginians. It had been easier to root out the staple produce of their plantations, than to wrest from them their established franchises. The movements of their government display the spirit of the place and the aptitude of the English colonies for liberty. A faithless clerk, who had been suborned by one of the commissioners to betray the secret consultations of the Virginians, was promptly punished. In vain was it attempted, by means of intimidation and promises of royal favour, to obtain a petition for the revocation of the charter. It was under that charter that the assembly was itself convened ; and, after prudently rejecting a proposition which might have endangered its own existence, it proceeded to memorable acts of independent legislation.(3)

The rights of property were strictly maintained against arbitrary taxation. "The governor shall not lay any taxes or ympositions upon the colony, their lands or commodities, other way than by the authority of the general assembly, to be levyed and ymployed as the said assembly shall appoyn." Thus Virginia, the oldest colony, was the first to set the example of a just and firm legislation on the management of the public money. We shall see others imitate the example, which could not be excelled. The rights of personal liberty were likewise asserted, and the power of the executive circumscribed. The several governors had in vain attempted, by penal statutes, to promote the culture of corn : the true remedy was now discovered by the colonial legislature. "For the encouragement of men to plant store of corn, the price shall not be stinted, but it shall be free for every man to sell it as deare as he can." The reports of controversies in England rendered it necessary to provide for the public tranquillity by an express enactment—"that no person within the colony,

(1) Hening, i. 128, Act 35.

(2) Burk, i. 277.

(3) Hening, i. 122—128. Burk, i. 278—286. Stith, 318—322.

upon the rumour of supposed change and alteration, presume to be disobedient to the present government." The law was dictated by the emergency of the times ; and, during the struggle in London, the administration of Virginia was based upon a popular decree. These laws, so judiciously framed, show how readily, with the aid of free discussion, men become good legislators on their own concerns ; for wise legislation is the enacting of proper laws at proper times ; and no criterion is so nearly infallible as the fair representation of the interests to be affected.

While the commissioners were urging the Virginians to renounce their right to the privileges which they exercised so well, the English parliament assembled ; and a gleam of hope revived in the company, as it forwarded an elaborate petition(1) to the grand inquest of the kingdom. It is a sure proof of the unpopularity of the corporation, that it met with no support from the commons ;(2) but Sir Edwin Sandys, more intent on the welfare of Virginia than the existence of the company, was able to secure for the colonial staple complete protection against foreign tobacco, by a petition of grace,(3) which was followed by a royal proclamation.(4) The people of England could not have given a more earnest proof of their disposition to foster the plantations in America, than by restraining all competition in their own market for the benefit of the American planter.

Meantime, the commissioners arrived from the colony, and made their report to the king.(5) They enumerated the disasters which had befallen the infant settlement ; they eulogized the fertility of the soil and the salubrity of the climate ; they aggravated the neglect of the company in regard to the encouragement of staple commodities ; they esteemed the plantations of great national importance, and an honourable monument of the reign of King James ; they expressed a preference for the original constitution of 1606 ; they declared, that the alteration of the charter to so popular a course, and so many hands,

(1) Stith, 324—328.

(2) Chalmers, 65, 66. Burk, i. 291.

(3) Stith, 328, refers to the nine grievances ; erroneously. See Cobbett's Parl. Hist. i. 1489—1497. The Commons acted by petition. Hazard, i. 193.

(4) Hazard, i. 193—198.

(5) Ibid. i. 190, 191. Burk, i. 291, 292.

referring, not to the colonial franchises, but to the democratic form of the London company, could lead only to confusion and contention; and they promised prosperity only by a recurrence to the original instructions of the monarch.

Now, therefore, nothing but the judicial decision remained. The decree, which was to be pronounced by judges who held their office by the tenure of the royal pleasure,(1) could not long remain doubtful: at the Trinity term of the ensuing year judgment was given against the treasurer and company,(2) and the patents were cancelled.

Thus the company was dissolved. It had fulfilled its high destinies; it had confirmed the colonization of Virginia, and had conceded a liberal form of government to Englishmen in America. It could accomplish no more. The members were probably willing to escape from a concern which promised no emolument, and threatened an unprofitable strife; the public acquiesced in the fall of a corporation which had of late maintained but a sickly and hopeless existence; and it was clearly perceived, that a body rent by internal factions, and opposed by the whole force of the English court, could never succeed in fostering Virginia. The fate of the London company found little sympathy; in the domestic government and franchises of the colony, it produced no immediate change. Sir Francis Wyatt, though he had been an ardent friend of the London company, was confirmed in office; and he and his council, far from being rendered absolute, were only empowered to govern "as fully and amplye as any governor and council resident there, at any time within the space of five years now last past." This term of five years was precisely the period of representative government: and the limitation could not but be interpreted as sanctioning the continuance of popular assemblies. The king, in appointing the council in Virginia, refused to nominate the embittered partisans of the court faction,

(1) Story's Com. i. 27.

(2) Stith, 329, 330, doubts if judgment were passed. The doubt may be removed. "Before the end of the same term, a judgment was declared by the Lord Chief Justice Ley against the company and their charter, only upon a failer, or mistake in pleading." See a Short Collection of the most Remarkable Passages from the Originall to the Dissolution of the Virginia Company; London, 1651, p. 15. See, also, Hazard, i. 191; Chalmers, 62; Proud's Pennsylvania, i. 107.

but formed the administration on the principles of accommodation.⁽¹⁾ The vanity of the monarch claimed the opportunity of establishing for the colony a code of fundamental laws ; but death prevented the royal legislator from attempting the task, which would have furnished his self-complacency so grateful an occupation.

CHAPTER VI.

RESTRICTIONS ON COLONIAL COMMERCE.

ASCENDING the throne in his twenty-fifth year, 1625. Charles I. inherited the principles and was governed by the favourite of his father. The rejoicings in consequence of his recent nuptials, the reception of his bride, and preparations for a parliament, left him little leisure for American affairs. Virginia was esteemed by the monarch as the country producing tobacco ; its inhabitants were valued at court as planters, and prized according to the revenue derived from the staple of their industry. The plantation, no longer governed by a chartered company, was become a royal province and an object of favour ; and, as it enforced conformity to the Church of England, it could not be an object of suspicion to the clergy or the court. The king felt an earnest desire to heal old grievances, to secure the personal rights and property of the colonists, and to promote their prosperity. Franchises were neither conceded nor restricted : for it did not occur to his pride, that, at that time, there could be in an American province anything like established privileges or vigorous political life ; nor was he aware that the seeds of liberty were already germinating on the borders of the Chesapeake. His first Virginian measure was a proclamation on tobacco ; confirming to Virginia and the Somer Isles the exclusive supply of the British market, under penalty of the censure of the Star-chamber for disobedience. In a few days, a new proclamation appeared, in which it was his evident design to secure the profits that might before have been engrossed by the cor-

(1) Hazard, i. 189, 192. Burk, ii. 11, from ancient records.

poration. After a careful declaration of the forfeiture of the charters, and consequently of the immediate dependence of Virginia upon himself, a declaration aimed against the claims of the London company, and not against the franchises of the colonists, the monarch proceeded to announce his fixed resolution of becoming, through his agents, the sole factor of the planters. Indifferent to their constitution, it was his principal aim to monopolize the profits of their industry; and the political rights of Virginia were established as usages by his salutary neglect.(1)

There is no room to suppose that Charles nourished the design of suppressing the colonial assemblies. For some months, the organization of the government was not changed; and when Wyatt, on the death of his father, obtained leave to return to Scotland, Sir George Yeardley 1626. was appointed his successor. This appointment was in itself a guarantee, that, as "the former interests of Virginia were to be kept inviolate,"(2) so the representative government, the chief political interest, would be maintained; for it was Yeardley who had had the glory of introducing the system. In the commission now issued,(3) the monarch expressed his desire to benefit, encourage, and perfect the plantation; "the same means, that were formerly thought fit for the maintenance of the colony," were continued; and the power of the governor and council was limited, as it had before been done in the commission of Wyatt, by a reference to the usages of the last five years. In that period, representative liberty had become the custom of Virginia. The words were interpreted as favouring the wishes of the colonists; and King Charles, intent only on increasing his revenue, confirmed, perhaps unconsciously, the existence of a popular assembly. The colony prospered; Virginia rose rapidly 1627. in public estimation; in one year, a thousand emigrants arrived; and there was an increasing demand for all the products of the soil.

The career of Yeardley was now closed by death. Posterity will ever retain a grateful recollection of the man who first convened a representative assembly in the western

(1) Hazard, i. 202—205. Burk, ii. 14, 15.

(2) Letter of the Privy Council, in Burk, ii. 18.

(3) Hazard, i. 230—234.

hemisphere ; the colonists, announcing his decease in a letter to the privy council, gave at the same time a eulogy on his virtues ; the surest evidence of his fidelity to their interests.(1) The day after his burial, Francis West was elected his successor ;(2) for the council was authorized to elect the governor, "from time to time, as often as the case shall require."(3)

But if any doubts existed of the royal assent to
^{1628.} the continuance of colonial assemblies, they were soon removed by a letter of instructions, which the king addressed to the governor and council. After much cavilling, in the style of a purchaser who undervalues the wares which he wishes to buy, the monarch arrives at his main purpose, and offers to contract for the whole crop of tobacco ; desiring, at the same time, that an assembly might be convened to consider his proposal.(4) This is the first recognition, on the part of a Stuart, of a representative assembly in America. Hitherto, the king had, fortunately for the colony, found no time to take order for its government. His zeal for an exclusive contract led him to observe and to sanction the existence of an elective legislature. The assembly, in its answer, firmly pro-
^{1629.} tested against the monopoly, and rejected the conditions which they had been summoned to approve. The independent reply of the assembly was signed by the governor, by five members of the council, and by thirty-one burgesses. The Virginians, happier than the people of England, enjoyed a faithful representative government, and, through the resident planters who composed the council, they repeatedly elected their own governor. When West designed to embark for Europe, his place was supplied by election.(5)

No sooner had the news of the death of Yeardley
^{1628.} reached England, than the king proceeded to issue a commission(6) to John Harvey. The tenor of the instrument offered no invasions of colonial freedom ; but while it renewed the limitations which had previously been set to the executive authority, it permitted the council in Virginia, which had common interests with the people, to supply all vacancies occurring in their body. In this way direct oppression was rendered impossible.

(1) Burk, ii. 22, 23.

(4) Burk, ii. 19, 20. Hening, i. 129.

(2) Hening, i. 4.

(5) Hening, i. 134—137. Burk, ii. 24.

(3) Hazard, i. 233.

(6) Hazard, i. 234—239.

1628- It was during the period which elapsed between 1629. the appointment of Harvey and his appearance in America, that Lord Baltimore visited Virginia. The zeal of religious bigotry pursued him as a Romanist ;(1) and the intolerant jealousy of Popery led to memorable results. Nor should we, in this connection, forget the hospitable plans of the southern planters ; the people of New Plymouth were invited to abandon the cold and sterile clime of New England, and plant themselves in the milder regions on the Delaware Bay ;(2) a plain indication that Puritans were not then molested in Virginia.

It was probably in the autumn of 1629 that Harvey arrived in Virginia.(3) Till October, the name of Pott 1630. appears as governor ; Harvey met his first assembly of burgesses in the following March.(4) He had for several years been a member of the council ; and as, at a former day, he had been a willing instrument in the hands of the faction to which Virginia ascribed its earliest griefs, and continued to bear a deep-rooted hostility, his appointment 1630- could not but be unpopular. The colony had 1635. esteemed it a special favour from King James, that, upon the substitution of the royal authority for the corporate supremacy, the government had been intrusted to impartial agents ; and, after the death of Yeardley, two successive chief magistrates had been elected in Virginia. The appointment of Harvey implied a change of power among political parties ; it gave authority to a man whose connections in England were precisely those which the colony regarded with the utmost aversion. As his first appearance in America, in 1623, had been with no friendly designs, so now he was the support of those who desired large grants of land and unreasonable concessions of separate jurisdictions ; and he preferred the interests of himself, his partisans and patrons, to the welfare and quiet of the colony. The extravagant language, which exhibited him as a tyrant, without specifying his crimes, was the natural hyperbole of political excitement ; and when historians, receiving the account, and interpreting tyranny to mean arbitrary taxation, drew the inference that he convened no assemblies, trifled with the rights of property,

(1) Records, in Burk, ii. 24, 25. Hening, i. 552.

(2) Burk, ii. 32.

(4) Hening, i. 4, and 147.

(3) Chalmers, 118.

and levied taxes according to his caprice, they were betrayed into extravagant errors. Such a procedure would have been impossible. He had no soldiers at his command; no obsequious officers to enforce his will; and the Virginians would never have made themselves the instruments of their own oppression. The party opposed to Harvey was deficient neither in capacity nor in colonial influence; and while arbitrary power was rapidly advancing to triumph in England, the Virginians, during the whole period, enjoyed the benefit of independent colonial legislation; (1) through the agency of their representatives, they levied and appropriated all taxes, (2) secured the free industry of their citizens, (3) guarded the forts with their own soldiers, at their own charge, (4) and gave to their statutes the greatest possible publicity. (5) When the defects and inconveniences of infant legislation were remedied by a revised code, which was published with

(1) As an opposite statement has received the sanction, not of Oldmixon, Chalmers, and Robertson only, but of Marshall and of Story (see Story's Commentaries, i. 28, "without the slightest effort to convene a colonial assembly"), I deem it necessary to state, that many of the statutes of Virginia under Harvey still exist, and that, though many others are lost, the first volume of Hening's Statutes at Large proves, beyond a question, that assemblies were convened, at least, as often as follows:—

1630, March	Hening, i. 147—153.
1630, April	ibid. 257.
1632, February ..	ibid. 153—177.
1632, September..	ibid. 178—202.
1633, February ..	ibid. 202—209.
1633, August	ibid. 209—222.
1634,	ibid. 223.
1635,	ibid. 223.
1636,	ibid. 229.
1637,	ibid. 227.
1639,	ibid. 229—230.
1640,	ibid. 268.
1641, June	ibid. 259—262.
1642, January....	ibid. 267.
1642, April	ibid. 230.
1642, June	ibid. 269.

Considering how imperfect are the early records, it is surprising that so considerable a list can be established. The instructions to Sir William Berkeley do not first order assemblies, but speak of them as of a thing established. At an adjourned session of Berkeley's first legislature, the assembly declares "its meeting exceeding *customary* limits, in this place used." Hening, i. 236. This is a plain declaration, that assemblies were the custom and use of Virginia at the time of Berkeley's arrival. If any doubts remain, it would be easy to multiply arguments and references. Burk, ii. App. xlvi. li.

(2) Hening, i. 171, Act 38.

(4) Ibid. 175, Acts 57 and 58.

(3) Ibid. 172, Act 40.

(5) Ibid. 177, Act 68.

the approbation of the governor and council,(1) all the privileges which the assembly had ever claimed were carefully confirmed.(2) Indeed, they seem never to have been questioned.

Yet the administration of Harvey was disturbed by divisions, which grew out of other causes than infringements of the constitution. De Vries, who visited Virginia in 1632-3, had reason to praise the advanced condition of the settlement, the abundance of its products, and the liberality of its governor.(3) The community would hardly have been much disturbed because fines were exacted with too relentless rigour;(4) but the whole colony of Virginia was in a state of excitement and alarm, in consequence of the dismemberment of its territory by the cession to Lord Baltimore. As in many of the earlier settlements, questions about land-titles were agitated with passion; and there was reason to apprehend the increase of extravagant grants, that would again include the soil on which plantations had already been made without the acquisition of an indisputable legal claim. In Maryland, the first occupants had refused to submit, and a skirmish had ensued, in which the blood of Europeans was shed for the first time on the waters of the Chesapeake; and Clayborne, defeated and banished from Maryland as a murderer(5) and an outlaw, sheltered himself in Virginia, where he had long been a member of the council. There the contest was renewed; and Harvey, far from attempting to enforce the claims of Virginia against the royal grant, sent Clayborne to England to answer for the crimes with which he was charged. The colonists were indignant that their governor should thus, as it seemed to them, betray their interests; and as the majority of the council favoured their wishes, "Sir John Harvey was thrust out of his government; and Captain John West appointed to the office, till the king's pleasure be known." An assembly was summoned in May, to receive complaints against Harvey; but he had in the

(1) Hening, 179.

(2) Ibid. 180—202. See, particularly, Acts 34, 35, 36, 39, 46, 57, 58, 61.

(3) De Vries, Korte Historiael ende Journals—a rare work, which Ebeling had never seen.

(4) Beverley, 48. Bulloek, 10.

(5) Hammond's Leah and Rachel.

meantime consented to go to England, and there meet his accusers.(1)

The commissioners appointed by the council to manage the impeachment of Harvey met with no favour in England, and were not even admitted to a hearing.(2) Harvey immediately re-appeared to occupy his former station; and was followed by a new commission, by which his powers were still limited to such as had been exercised during the period of legislative freedom. General assemblies continued to be held; but the vacancies in the council, which had been filled in Virginia, were henceforward to be supplied by appointment in England.(3) Harvey remained in office till 1639.(4) The complaints which have been brought against him will be regarded with some degree of distrust, when it is considered, that the public mind of the colony, during his administration, was controlled by a party which pursued him with implacable hostility. In April, 1642, two months only after the accession of Berkeley, a public document declares the comparative happiness of the colony under the royal government; a declaration which would hardly have been made, if Virginia had so recently and so long been smarting under intolerable oppression.(5)

At length he was superseded, and Sir Francis Wyatt(6) appointed in his stead. Early in the next year, he convened a general assembly. History has recorded many instances where a legislature has altered the scale of debts: in modern times, it has frequently been done by debasing the coin, or by introducing paper money. In Virginia, debts had been contracted to

(1) Hening, i. 223 and 4. Oldmixon, i. 240. Oldmixon is unworthy of implicit trust. Beverley, 48, is not accurate. Campbell's *Virginia*, 60—a modest little book. Chalmers, 118, 119, is betrayed into error by following Oldmixon. Burk, ii. 41, 42. Bullock's *Virginia*, 10. Robertson, in his *History of Virginia*, after the dissolution of the company, furnishes a tissue of inventions. Keith, 143, 144, places in 1639 the occurrences of 1635. His book is superficial.

(2) Burk, ii. 45. Yet Burk corrected but half the errors of his predecessors.

(3) Hazard, i. 400—403.

(4) Campbell, 61. Hening, i. 4.

(5) Hening, i. 231.

(6) Rymer, xx. 484. Hazard, i. 477. Savage on Winthrop, ii. 160, 161. A note by Savage settles a question. Hening, i. 224 and 4. Campbell, 61. But Keith, and Beverley, and Chalmers, and Burk, and Marshall were ignorant of such a governor as Wyatt, in 1639, and represent Berkeley as the immediate successor of Harvey.

be paid in tobacco; and when the article rose in value, in consequence of laws restricting its culture, the legislature of Virginia did not scruple to provide a remedy, by enacting that "no man need pay more than two-thirds of his debt during the stint;" and that all creditors should take "forty pounds for a hundred." (1) The artificial increase of the value of tobacco seemed to require a corresponding change in the tariff of debts.(2)

After two years, a commission(3) was issued to Sir 1641. William Berkeley. Historians, reasoning from the revolutions which took place in England, that there had been corresponding attempts at oppression and corresponding resistance in Virginia, have delighted to draw a contrast, not only between Harvey and the new governor, but between the institutions of Virginia under their respective governments; and Berkeley is said to have "restored the system of freedom," and to have "effected an essential revolution."(4) I cannot find that his appointment was marked by the slightest concession of new political privileges, except that the council recovered the right of supplying its own vacancies; and the historians, who make an opposite statement, are wholly ignorant of the intermediate administration of Wyatt; a government so suited to the tastes and habits of the planters, that it passed silently away, leaving almost no impression on Virginia history, except in its statutes. The commission of Berkeley was exactly analogous to those of his predecessors.

The instructions(5) given him, far from granting franchises to the Virginians, imposed new, severe, and unwarrantable restrictions on the liberty of trade; and, for the first time, England claimed that monopoly of colonial commerce, which was ultimately enforced by the navigation act of Charles II., and which never ceased to be a subject of dispute till the war of independence. The nature of those instructions will presently be explained.

It was in February, 1642, that Sir William Berke- 1642. ley, arriving in the colony, assumed the government. His arrival must have been nearly simultaneous with the adjournment of the general assembly, which was held in

(1) Hening, i. 225, 226.

(2) Brockenbrough's Virginia, 586.

(3) Hazard, i. 477—480. Rymer, xx. 484—486.

(4) Chalmers, 120, 121.

(5) Ibid. 131—133.

the preceding January.(1) He found the American planters in possession of a large share of the legislative authority ; and he confirmed them in the enjoyment of franchises which a long and uninterrupted succession had rendered familiar. Immediately after his arrival, he convened the colonial legislature. The utmost harmony prevailed ; the memory of factions was lost in a general amnesty of ancient griefs. The lapse of years had so far effaced the divisions which grew out of the dissolution of the company, that when George Sandys, an agent of the colony, and an opponent of the royal party in England, presented a petition to the commons, praying for the restoration of the ancient patents,(2) the royalist assembly promptly disavowed the design, and, after a full debate, opposed it by a solemn protest.(3) The whole document breathes the tone of a body accustomed to public discussion and the independent exercise of legislative power. They assert the necessity of the freedom of trade ; "for freedom of trade," say they, "is the blood and life of a commonwealth." And they defended their preference of self-government through a colonial legislature, by a conclusive argument. "There is more likelyhood, that such as are acquainted with the clime and its accidents may upon better grounds prescribe our advantages, than such as shall sit at the helm in England."(4) In reply to their urgent petition, the king immediately declared his purpose not to change a form of government in which they "received so much content and satisfaction."(5)

The Virginians, aided by Sir William Berkeley,(6) could now deliberately perfect their civil condition. Condemnations to service had been a usual punishment ; these were abolished. In the courts of justice, a near approach was made to the laws and customs of England. Religion was provided for ; the law about land-titles adjusted ; an amicable treaty with Maryland successfully matured ; and peace with the Indians confirmed. Taxes were assessed, not in proportion to numbers, but to men's abilities and

(1) The acts of that session are lost, but are referred to in Hening, i. 267—269, in the acts 49, 50, 51, 52. The statutes, of course, call the year 1641, as the year then began in March.

(2) Chalmers, 121. Hening, i. 230.

(3) Hening, i. 230—236. Burk, ii. 68—74.

(5) Chalmers, 133, 134. Burk, ii. 74.

(6) Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 12.

Hening, i. 233.

estates. The spirit of liberty, displayed in the English parliament, was transmitted to America; and the rights of property, the freedom of industry, the solemn exercise of civil franchises, seemed to be secured to themselves and their posterity. "A future immunity from taxes and impositions," except such as should be freely voted for their own wants, "was expected as the fruits of the endeavours of their legislature." (1) As the restraints with which colonial navigation was threatened were not enforced. (2) they attracted no attention; and Virginia enjoyed nearly all the liberties which a monarch could concede, and retain his supremacy.

Believing themselves secure of all their privileges, the triumph of the popular party in England did not alter the condition or the affections of the Virginians. The commissioners appointed by Parliament, with unlimited authority over the plantations, (3) found no favour in Virginia. They promised, indeed, freedom from English taxation; but this immunity was already enjoyed. They gave the colony liberty to choose its own governor; but it had no dislike to Berkeley; and though there was a party for the parliament, yet the king's authority was maintained. (4) The sovereignty of Charles had ever been mildly exercised.

The condition of contending parties in England had 1643. now given to Virginia an opportunity of legislation independent of European control; and the voluntary act of the assembly, restraining religious liberty, adopted from hostility to political innovation, rather than from a spirit of fanaticism, or respect to instructions, proves conclusively the attachment of the representatives of Virginia to the Episopcal church and the cause of royalty. Yet, there had been Puritans in the colony almost from the beginning; even the Brownists were freely offered a secure asylum: (5) "Here," said the tolerant Whitaker, "neither surplice nor subscription is spoken of;" and several Puritan families, and perhaps (6) some even of the Puritan

(1) Hening, i. 237, 238.

(2) Chalmers, 124.

(3) Hazard, i. 533—535.

(4) Winthrop, ii. 159, 160, and the note of Savage.

(5) Bradford, in Prince.

(6) "I muse that so few of our English ministers, that were so hot against the surplice and subscription, come hither, where neither is spoken of." Whitaker, in Purchas, b. ix. c. xi.

clergy, emigrated to Virginia. They were so content with their reception, that large numbers were preparing to follow, and were restrained only by the forethought of English intolerance.(1) We have seen, that the Pilgrims at Plymouth were invited to remove within the jurisdiction of Virginia ; Puritan merchants planted themselves on the James River without fear, and emigrants from Massachusetts had recently established themselves in the colony. The honour of Laud had been vindicated by a judicial sentence,(2) and south of the Potomac the decrees of the court of High Commission were allowed to be valid ; but I find no traces of persecutions in the earliest history of Virginia. The laws were harsh : the administration seems to have been mild. A disposition to non-conformity was soon to show itself even in the council. An invitation, which had been sent to Boston for Puritan ministers, implies a belief that they would be admitted in Virginia. But now the democratic revolution in England had given an immediate political importance to religious sects : to tolerate Puritanism was to nurse a republican party. It was, therefore, specially ordered, that no minister should preach or teach, publicly or privately, except in conformity to the constitutions of the Church of England.(3) and non-conformists were banished from the colony. The unsocial spirit of political discord, fostering a mutual intolerance, prevented a frequent intercourse between Virginia and New England. It was in vain that the ministers, invited from Boston by the Puritan settlements in Virginia, carried letters from Winthrop, written to Berkeley and his council by order of the general court of Massachusetts. "The hearts of the people were much inflamed with desire after the ordinances ;" but the missionaries were silenced by the government, and ordered to leave the country.(4) Sir William Berkeley was "a courtier, and very malignant towards the way of the churches" in New England.

While Virginia thus displayed, though with comparatively little bitterness, the intolerance which for centuries had almost universally prevailed throughout the Christian

(1) Compare Grahame, i. 219 ; Hawks, i. 35.

(2) Hening, i. 552. Burk, ii. 67.

(3) Act 64, Hening, i. 277.

(4) Winthrop's Journal, ii. 77, 78, 95, 96, and 164, 165. Hubbard's New England, 410, 411. Johnson, b. iii. c. xi. in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 29. Hening, i. 275.

world, a scene of distress was prepared by the vindictive ferocity of the natives, with whom a state of hostility had been of long continuance. In 1643, it was enacted by the assembly, that no terms of peace should be entertained with the Indians, whom it was usual to distress by sudden marches against their settlements. But the Indians ^{1644.} had now heard of the dissensions in England ; and, taking counsel of their passions rather than of their prudence, they resolved on one more attempt at a general massacre,—believing that, by midnight incursions, the destruction of the cattle and the fields of corn, they might succeed in famishing the remnant of the colonists, whom they should not be able to murder by surprise. On the eighteenth day of April,(1) the time appointed for the carnage, the unexpected onset was begun upon the frontier settlements. But hardly had the Indians steeped their hands in blood, before they were dismayed by the recollection of their own comparative weakness ; and trembling for the consequences of their treachery, they feared to continue their design, and fled to a distance from the colony. The number of victims had been three hundred. Measures were promptly taken by the English for protection and defence, and a war was vigorously conducted. The aged Opechaneanough was easily made prisoner ; and the venerated monarch of the sons of the forest, so long the undisputed lord of almost boundless hunting-grounds, died in miserable captivity, of wounds inflicted by a brutal soldier. In his last moments, he chiefly regretted his exposure to the contemptuous gaze of his enemies.(2)

So little was apprehended, when the English were once on their guard, that, two months after the massacre, Berkeley embarked for England, leaving Richard Kemp as his successor.(3) A border warfare continued ; marches up and down the Indian country were ordered ; yet so weak were the natives, that though the careless traveller and the straggling huntsman were long in danger of being

(1) The reader is cautioned against the inaccuracies of Beverley, Oldmixon, and, on this subject, of Burk. See Winthrop's Journal, ii. 165. Compare the note of Savage, whose sagacious conjecture is confirmed in Hening, i. 290, Act 4, session of February, 1645.

(2) On the massacre, there are three contemporary guides : the statutes of the time, in Hening, i.; The Perfect Description of Virginia, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 115—117; and the Reports of the exiled Puritans, in Winthrop, ii. 165.

(3) Hening, i. 4, 282, and 286.

intercepted,(1) yet ten men were considered a sufficient force to protect a place of danger.(2)

About fifteen months after Berkeley's return from 1646. England, articles of peace were established between the inhabitants of Virginia and Necotowance, the successor of Opechancanough.(3) Submission and a cession of lands were the terms on which the treaty was purchased by the original possessors of the soil, who now began to vanish away from the immediate vicinity of the settlements of their too formidable invaders. It is one of the surprising results of moral power, that language, composed of fleeting sounds, retains and transmits the remembrance of past occurrences long after every other monument has passed away. Of the labours of the Indians on the soil of Virginia, there remains nothing so respectable as would be a common ditch for the draining of lands;(4) the memorials of their former existence are found only in the names of the rivers and the mountains. Unchanging nature retains the appellations which were given by those whose villages have disappeared, and whose tribes have become extinct.

Thus the colony of Virginia acquired the management of all its concerns; war was levied, and peace concluded, and territory acquired, in conformity to the acts of the representatives of the people. Possessed of security and quiet, abundance of land, a free market for their staple, and, practically, all the rights of an independent state, having England for its guardian against foreign oppression, rather than its ruler, the colonists enjoyed all the prosperity which a virgin soil, equal laws, and general uniformity of condition and industry, could bestow. Their numbers increased; the cottages were filled with children, as the ports were with ships and emigrants. At Christmas, 1648, there were trading in Virginia ten ships from London, two from Bristol, twelve Hollanders, and seven from New England.(5) The number of the colonists was already twenty thousand; and they, who had sustained no griefs, were not tempted to engage in the feuds by which the mother country was divided. They were

(1) Hening, i. 300, 301, Act 3.

(2) Ibid. 285, 286, Act 5.

(3) Ibid. 323—326. Compare Drake's Indian Biography, b. iv. 22—24; Johnson's Wonder-working Providence, b. iii. c. xi.

(4) Jefferson's Notes, 132.

(5) New Description of Virginia, 15, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 118.

attached to the cause of Charles, not because they loved monarchy, but because they cherished the liberties of which he had left them in the undisturbed possession ; and, after his execution, though there were not wanting some who, from ignorance, as the royalists affirmed, favoured republicanism, the government recognized his son(1) without dispute. The disasters of the Cavaliers in England strengthened the party in the New World. Men of consideration "among the nobility, gentry, and clergy," struck "with horror and despair" at the execution of Charles I., and desiring no reconciliation with the unrelenting "rebels," made their way to the shores of the Chesapeake, where every house was for them a "hostelry," and every planter a friend. The mansion and the purse of Berkeley were open to all ; and at the hospitable dwellings that were scattered along the rivers and among the wilds of Virginia, the Cavaliers, exiles like their monarch, met in frequent groups to recount their toils, to sigh over defeats, and to nourish loyalty and hope.(2) The faithfulness of the Virginians did not escape the attention of the royal exile ; from his retreat in 1650. Breda he transmitted to Berkeley a new commission ;(3) he still controlled the distribution of offices, and, amidst his defeats in Scotland,(4) still remembered with favour the faithful Cavaliers in the western world. Charles the Second, a fugitive from England, was still the sovereign of Virginia. "Virginia was whole for monarchy, and the last country belonging to England that submitted to obedience of the commonwealth."(5)

But the parliament did not long permit its authority to be denied. Having, by the vigorous energy and fearless enthusiasm of republicanism, triumphed over all its enemies in Europe, it turned its attention to the colonies ; and a memorable ordinance(6) at once empowered the council of state to reduce the rebellious colonies to obedience, and, at the same time, established it as a law, that foreign ships should not trade at any of the ports "in Barbadoes, Antigua, Bermudas, and Virginia." Mary-

(1) Hening, i. 359, 360, Act 1.

(2) Norwood, in Churchill, vi. 160—186. Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 16.

(3) Chalmers, 122.

(4) Norwood, in Ch. vi. 186.

(5) Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 20; Ed. 1656.

(6) Hazard, i. 637, 638. Parliamentary History, iii. 1357. The commentary of Chalmers, p. 123, is that of a partisan lawyer.

land, which was not expressly included in the ordinance, had taken care to acknowledge the new order of things; (1) and Massachusetts, alike unwilling to encounter the hostility of parliament, and jealous of the rights of independence, 1651. prohibited all intercourse with Virginia till the supremacy of the commonwealth should be established, although the order, when it was found to be injurious to commerce, was promptly repealed, even whilst royalty still triumphed at Jamestown. (2) But would Virginia resist the fleet of the republic? Were its royalist principles so firm that they would animate the colony to a desperate war with England? The lovers of monarchy indulged the hope that the victories of their friends in the Chesapeake would redeem the disgrace that had elsewhere fallen on the royal arms; many partisans of Charles had come over as to a place of safety; and the honest Governor Berkeley, than whom "no man meant better," was so confirmed in his confidence, that he wrote to the king, almost inviting him to America. (3) The approach of the day of trial was watched with the deepest interest.

But while the preparations were yet making for the reduction of the colonies, which still preserved an appearance of loyalty, the commercial policy of England underwent an important revision, and the new system, as it was based upon the permanent interests of English merchants and ship-builders, obtained a consistency and durability which could never have been gained by the feeble selfishness of the Stuarts.

It is the ancient fate of colonies to be planted by the daring of the poor and the hardy; to struggle into being through the severest trials; to be neglected by the parent country during the season of poverty and weakness; to thrive by the unrestricted application of their powers and enterprise, and by their consequent prosperity to tempt oppression. The Greek colonies early attained opulence and strength, because they were always free; the new people at its birth was independent, and remained so; the emigrants were dismissed, not as servants, but as equals. They were the natural, not the necessary, allies of the mother country. They spoke the same dialect, revered

(1) Langford's Refutation, 6, 7.

(2) Hazard, i. 553 and 558.

(3) Clarendon, b. xiii. iii. 466.

the same gods, cherished the same customs and laws ; but they were politically independent. Freedom, stimulating exertion, invited them to stretch their settlements from the shores of the Euxine to the Western Mediterranean, and urged them forward to wealth and prosperity, commensurate with their boldness and the vast extent of their domains. The colonies of Carthage, on the contrary, had no sooner attained sufficient consideration to merit attention, than the mother state insisted upon a monopoly of their commerce. The colonial system is as old as colonies and the spirit of commercial gain and political oppression.(1)

No sooner had Spain and Portugal entered on maritime discovery, and found their way round the Cape of Good Hope and to America, than a monopoly of the traffic of the world was desired. Greedily covetous of the whole, they could with difficulty agree upon a division, not of a conquered province, the banks of a river, a neighbouring territory, but of the oceans, and the commerce of every people and empire along the wide margin of their waters. They claimed that, on the larger seas, the winds should blow only to fill their sails ; that the islands and continents of Asia, of Africa, and the New World, should be fertile only to freight the ships of their merchants ; and, having denounced the severest penalties against any who should infringe the rights which they claimed, they obtained the sanction of religion to adjust their differences, and to bar the ocean against the intrusion of competitors.(2)

The effects of this severity are pregnant with instruction. Direct commerce with the Spanish settlements was punished by the Spaniards with confiscation and the threat of eternal woe. The moral sense of mariners revolted at the extravagance ; since forfeiture, imprisonment, and excommunication were to follow the attempt at the fair exchanges of trade ; since the freebooter and the pirate could not suffer more than was menaced against the merchant who should disregard the maritime monopoly, the seas became infested by reckless buccaneers, the natural offspring of colonial restrictions. Rich Spanish settlements in America were pillaged ; fleets attacked and cap-

(1) Brougham's Colonial Policy, i. 21—23. Dionysius Halicarnassus, l. iii. But of all on the subject, Heeren, xiii. 96—98.

(2) Bull of Alexander VI., May 4, 1493. "Sub excommunicationis latæ sententiae pena," &c.

tured; predatory invasions were even made on land to intercept the loads of gold as they came from the mines; and men who might have acquired honour and wealth in commerce, if commerce had been permitted, now displayed a sagacity of contrivance, coolness of execution, and capacity for enduring hardships, which won them the admiration of their contemporaries, and, in a better cause, would have won them the perpetual praises of the world.

In Europe the freedom of the sea was vindicated against the claims of Spain and Portugal by a nation, hardly yet recognized as an independent state, occupying a soil, of which much had been redeemed by industry, and driven by the stern necessity of a dense population to seek for resources upon the sea. The most gifted of her sons, who first gave expression to the idea that "free ships make free goods,"⁽¹⁾ defended the liberty of commerce, and appealed to the judgment of all free governments and nations against the maritime restrictions, which humanity denounced as contrary to the principles of social intercourse; which justice derided as infringing the clearest natural rights; which enterprise rejected as a monstrous usurpation of the ocean and the winds. The relinquishment of navigation in the East Indies was required as the price at which her independence should be acknowledged, and she preferred to defend her separate existence by her arms, rather than purchase security by circumscribing the courses of her ships. The nation, which by its position was compelled to acquire skill in commerce, and, in its resistance to monopoly, was forced by competition to obtain an advantage, succeeded in gaining the maritime ascendancy. While the inglorious James of England, immersed in vanity and pedantry, was negotiating about points of theology; while the more unhappy Charles was wasting his strength in vain struggles against the liberties of his subjects,—the Dutch, a little confederacy, which had been struck from the side of the vast empire of Spain, a new people, scarcely known as possessed of nationality, had, by their superior skill, begun to engross the carrying trade of the world. Their ships were soon to be found in the harbours of Virginia; in the West Indian archipelago; in the south of Africa; among the tropical islands of the Indian Ocean; and even in the remote harbours of China.

(1) Grotius, Epist. ccvii.: "aliorum bella obstare commerciorum libertati non debere."

and Japan. Already their trading-houses were planted on the Hudson and the coast of Guinea, in Java and Brazil. One or two rocky islets in the West Indies, in part neglected by the Spaniards as unworthy of culture, were occupied by these daring merchants, and furnished a convenient shelter for a large contraband traffic with the terra firma. So great was the naval success of Holland, that it engrossed the commerce of the European nations themselves; English mariners sought employment in Dutch vessels, with which the ports of England were filled; English ships lay rotting at the wharfs; English ship-building was an unprofitable vocation. The freedom and the enterprise of Holland had acquired maritime power, and skill, and wealth, such as the vast monopoly of Spain had never been able to command.

The causes of the commercial greatness of Holland were forgotten in envy at her success. She ceased to appear as the antagonist of Spain, and the gallant champion of the freedom of the seas; she was now envied as the successful rival. The eloquence of Grotius was neglected, as well as the pretensions of Spain disregarded; and the English government resolved to protect the English merchant. Cromwell desired to confirm the maritime power of his country; and St. John, a Puritan and a republican in theory, though never averse to a limited monarchy, devised the first act of navigation, which the politic Whitelocke introduced and carried through parliament. Henceforward, the commerce between England and her colonies, as well as between England and the rest of the world, was to be conducted in ships solely owned, and principally manned, by Englishmen. Foreigners might bring to England nothing but the products of their own respective countries, or those of which their countries were the established staples. The act was levelled against Dutch commerce, and was but a protection of British shipping; it contained not one clause relating to a colonial monopoly, or specially injurious to an American colony. Of itself it inflicted no wound on Virginia or New England. In vain did the Dutch expostulate against the act as a breach of commercial amity; the parliament studied the interests of England, and would not repeal laws to please a neighbour.(1)

(1) Clarendon, b. xiii. Parl. History, iii. 1374, 5, 8. Godwin, iii. 381—2.
Heeren, i. 156

^{1652.} A naval war soon followed, which Cromwell eagerly desired, and Holland as earnestly endeavoured to avoid. The spirit of each people was kindled with the highest national enthusiasm; the commerce of the world was the prize contended for; the ocean was the scene of the conflict; and the annals of recorded time had never known so many great naval actions in such quick succession. This was the war in which Blake, and Ayscue, and De Ruyter gained their glory; and Tromp fixed a broom to his mast in bravado, as if to sweep the English flag from the seas.

Cromwell was not disposed to trammel the industry of Virginia, and Maryland, and New England. His ambition aspired to make England the commercial emporium of the world. His plans extended to the possession of the harbours in the Spanish Netherlands; France was obliged to pledge her aid to conquer, and her consent to yield Dunkirk, Mardyke, and Gravelines; and Dunkirk, in the summer of 1658, was given up to his ambassador by the French king in person.² Nor was this all: he desired the chief harbours in the North Sea and the Baltic, and an alliance with Sweden, made not simply from a zeal for Protestantism, was to secure him Bremen, and Elsinore, and Dantzig, as his reward.(1) In the West Indies his genius had planned the capture of Jamaica,^{1657.} which succeeded; and the attempt at the reduction of Hispaniola, then the chief possession of Spain among the islands, failed only through the incompetency or want of concert of his agents.

^{1655.} It is as the rival of Holland, the successful antagonist of Spain, the protector of English shipping, that Cromwell has claims to glory. The crown passed from the brow of his sons; his wide plans for the possession of commercial places on the continent were defeated; Dunkirk was restored; the monarchy, which he subverted, was re-established; the nobility, which he humbled, recovered its pride: Jamaica and the Act of Navigation are the permanent monuments of Cromwell.

The protection of English shipping, thus permanently established as a part of the British commercial policy, was the successful execution of a scheme which many centuries before had been prematurely attempted. A new and a far less justifiable encouragement was soon demanded, and

(1) Thurloe, vi. 478. Heeren's Works, i. 158.

English merchants began to insist upon the entire monopoly of the commerce of the colonies. This question had but recently been agitated in parliament. It was within the few last years that England had acquired colonies ; and, as at first, they were thought to depend upon the royal prerogative, the public policy with respect to them can be found only in the proclamations, charters, and instructions which emanated from the monarch.

The prudent forecast of Henry VII. had considered the advantages which might be derived from a colonial monopoly ; and while ample privileges were bestowed on the adventurers who sailed for the New World, he stipulated that the exclusive staple of its commerce should be made in England.(1) A century of ill success had checked the extravagance of hope ; and as the charters of Gilbert and of Raleigh had contained little but concessions, suited to invite those eminent men to engage with earnestness in the career of western discoveries, so the first charter 1606. for Virginia expressly admitted strangers to trade with the colony on payment of a small discriminating duty.(2) On the enlargement of the company, the 1609. intercourse with foreigners was still permitted ; nor were any limits assigned to the commerce in which they 1612. might engage.(3) The last charter was equally free from unreasonable restrictions on trade ; and, by a confirmation of all former privileges, it permitted to foreign nations the traffic which it did not expressly sanction.(4)

At an early period of his reign, before Virginia had 1604. been planted, King James found in his hostility to the use of tobacco a convenient argument for the excessive tax which a royal ordinance imposed on its consumption.(5) When the weed had evidently become the staple of Virginia, the Stuarts cared for nothing in the colony so much as for a revenue to be derived from an impost on its produce. Whatever false display of zeal might be made for religion, the conversion of the heathen, the organization of the government, and the establishment of justice, the 1619. subject of tobacco was never forgotten. The sale of it in England was strictly prohibited, unless the heavy impost had been paid ;(6) a proclamation enforced the

(1) Hazard, i. 10, and 13, 14. Biddle's Cabot, 309.

(2) Charter, s. 13, in Hening, i. 63.

(3) S. 21, Hening, i. 94, 95.

(4) Third Charter, s. 21, ib. 109.

(5) May 25. Hazard, i. 89.

(6) Hazard, i. 49, 50.

royal decree ; (1) and that the tax might be gathered on the entire consumption, by a new proclamation,(2) the culture of tobacco was forbidden in England and Wales, and the plants already growing were ordered to be uprooted. Nor was it long before the importation and ^{1620.} sale of tobacco required a special license from the king.(3) In this manner a compromise was effected between the interests of the colonial planters and the monarch ; the former obtained the exclusive supply of the English market, and the latter succeeded in imposing an exorbitant duty.(4) In the ensuing parliament, Lord ^{1621.} Coke did not fail to remind the Commons of the usurpations of authority on the part of the monarch, who had taxed the produce of the colonies without the consent of the people, and without an act of the national legislature ; (5) and Sandys, and Diggs, and Farrar, the friends of Virginia, procured the substitution of an act for the arbitrary ordinance.(6) In consequence of the dissensions of the times, the bill, which had passed the house, was left among the unfinished business of the session ; nor was the affair adjusted, till, as we have already seen, the Commons, in 1624, again expressed their ^{1624.} regard for Virginia by a petition, to which the monarch readily attempted to give effect.(7)

The first colonial measure (8) of King Charles re^{1625.} lated to tobacco ; and the second proclamation,(9) though its object purported to be the settling of the plantation of Virginia, partook largely of the same character. In a series of public acts King Charles attempted during ^{1626.} his reign to procure a revenue from this source. The authority of the Star-chamber was invoked to assist in filling his exchequer by new and onerous duties on tobacco ; (10) his commissioners were ordered to contract for ^{1627.} all the product of the colonies ; (11) though the Spanish tobacco was not steadily excluded.(12) All colonial tobacco was soon ordered to be sealed ; (13) nor was its

(1) Nov. 10. Hazard, i. 90.

(2) Hazard, i. 93.

(3) April 7. Hazard, i. 89—91. June 29. Ibid. 93—96.

(4) Stith, 168—170. Chalmers, 50, 52, 57.

(5) Debates of the Commons in 1620 and 1621, i. 169.

(6) Ibid. 269—271, and 296. Chalmers, 51, 70—74.

(7) Hazard, i. 193—198, 198—202.

(8) Ibid. 202, 203.

(9) Ibid. 203—205.

(10) March 2, 1626. Ibid. 224—230.

(11) January, 1627. Rymer, xviii. 831.

(12) Feb. 1627. Ibid. 848.

(13) March, 1627. Ibid. 886.

importation permitted except with special license ; (1) and we have seen that an attempt was made by a direct negotiation with the Virginians to constitute the king the sole factor of their staple.(2) The measure was defeated by the firmness of the colonists ; and the monarch was left to issue a new series of proclamations, constituting London the sole mart of colonial tobacco ; (3) till, vainly attempting to regulate the trade,(4) he declared "his will and pleasure to have the sole pre-emption of all the tobacco" of the English plantations.(5) He long adhered to his system with resolute pertinacity.(6)

The measures of the Stuarts were ever unsuccessful, because they were directed against the welfare of the colonists, and were not sustained by popular interests in England. After the long-continued efforts which the enterprise of English merchants and the independent spirit of English planters had perseveringly defied, King Charles, on the appointment of Sir William Berkeley, devised the expedient which was destined to become so celebrated. No vessel laden with colonial commodities might sail from the harbours of Virginia for any ports but those of England, that the staple of those commodities might be made in the mother country ; and all trade with foreign vessels, except in case of necessity, was forbidden.(7) This system, which the instructions of Berkeley commanded him to introduce, was ultimately successful ; for it sacrificed no rights but those of the colonists, while it identified the interests of the English merchant and the English government, and leagued them together for the oppression of those, who, for more than a century, were too feeble to offer effectual resistance.

The Long Parliament was more just ; it attempted to secure to English shipping the whole carrying trade of the colonies, but with the free consent of the colonies themselves, offering an equivalent, which the legislatures in America were at liberty to reject.(8)

The memorable ordinance of 1650 was a war measure, and extended only to the colonies which had adhered to the Stuarts. All intercourse with them was

(1) August, 1627. Rymer, xviii. 920.

(2) Hening, i. 129 and 134.

(3) January, 1631. Ibid. xix. 235.

(5) June 19. Hazard, i. 375.

(4) Ibid. 474 and 522.

(6) August, 1639. Rymer, xx. 343.

(7) Chalmers, 132, 133.

(8) Hazard, i. 634, 635.

forbidden, except to those who had a license from parliament or the council of state. Foreigners were rigorously excluded ; (1) and this prohibition was designed to continue in force even after the suppression of all resistance.^{1651.} While, therefore, the Navigation Act secured to English ships the entire carrying trade with England, in connection with the ordinance of the preceding year, it conferred a monopoly of colonial commerce.

But this state of commercial law was essentially modified by the manner in which the authority of the English commonwealth was established in the Chesapeake. The republican leaders of Great Britain, conducting with true magnanimity, suffered the fever of party to subside, before decisive measure were adopted ; and then two of the three commissioners, whom they appointed, were taken from among the planters themselves. The instructions given them were such as Virginians might carry into effect ; for they constituted them the pacifiers and benefactors of their country. In case of resistance, the cruelties of war were threatened.(2) If Virginia would but adhere to the commonwealth, she might be the mistress of her own destiny.

What opposition could be made to the parliament,^{1652.} which, in the moment of its power, voluntarily proposed a virtual independence? No sooner had the Guinea frigate anchored in the waters of the Chesapeake, than "all thoughts of resistance were laid aside," (3) and the colonists, having no motive to contend for a monarch

(1) Hazard, i. 636—638.

(2) Let the reader consult the instructions themselves, in Thurloe, i. 197, 198, or in Hazard, i. 556—558, rather than the commentary of Chalmers or Grahame.

(3) Clarendon, b. xiii. 466, 467. It is strange how much error has been introduced into Virginia history, and continued, even when means of correcting it were abundant and easy of access. Clarendon relates the matter rightly. See, also, Strong's Babylon's Fall, 2, 3, and Langford's Refutation, 6, 7. These are all contemporary authorities. Compare, also, the journals of the Long Parliament for August 31, 1652. So, too, the Act of Surrender, in Hening, i. 363—365, which agrees with the instructions from the Long Parliament. Compare, also, Ludlow, 149 : "This news being brought to Virginia, they submitted, also," &c. Clarendon, Strong, Langford, the public acts, Ludlow, all contemporary, do not disagree. Beverley wrote in the next century ; and his account is, therefore, less to be relied on. Besides, it is in itself improbable. How could Dutch merchantmen have awaited an English squadron? The Netherlands had no liberty to trade with Virginia ; and Dutch ships would at once have been seized as prizes. Virginia had doubtless been "whole for monarchy;" but monarchy in England seemed at an end. Of modern writers, Godwin, History of the Commonwealth, iii. 280, discerned the truth.

whose fortunes seemed irretrievable, were earnest only to assert the freedom of their own institutions. It marks the character of the Virginians, that they refused to surrender to force, but yielded by a voluntary deed and a mutual compact. It was agreed, upon the surrender, that the "PEOPLE OF VIRGINIA" should have all the liberties of the freeborn people of England; should intrust their business, as formerly, to their own grand assembly; should remain unquestioned for their past loyalty; and should have "as free trade as the people of England." No taxes, no customs, might be levied, except by their own representatives; no forts erected, no garrisons maintained, but by their own consent.(1) In the settlement of the government, the utmost harmony prevailed between the burgesses and the commissioners; it was the governor and council only, who had any apprehensions for their safety, and who scrupulously provided a guarantee for the security of their persons and property, which there evidently had existed no design to injure.

These terms, so favourable to liberty, and almost conceding independence, were faithfully observed till the restoration. Historians have, indeed, drawn gloomy pictures of the discontent which pervaded the colony, and have represented that discontent as heightened by commercial oppression.(2) The statement is a fiction. The colony of Virginia enjoyed liberties as large as the favoured New England; displayed an equal degree of fondness for popular sovereignty, and fearlessly exercised political independence.(3) There had long existed a republican party; and, now that monarchy had fallen, on whom could the royalists rely so safely as on themselves? The executive officers became elective; and so evident were the designs of all parties to promote an amicable settlement of the government, that Richard Bennett, himself a commissioner of the parliament, and, moreover, a merchant and a Roundhead, was, on the recommendation of the

(1) Hening, i. 363—365, and 367, 368. Jefferson's Notes on Virginia. Hazard, i. 560—564. Burk, ii. 85—91.

(2) Beverley, Chalmers, Robertson, Marshall. Even the accurate and learned Holmes has transmitted the error. Compare Jared Sparks, in North American Review, xx. new series, 433—436.

(3) Compare, for example, Dutch Records, at Albany, xxiv. 302, where Berkeley writes like an independent sovereign: "Whatsoever the noble Sir Harry Moody, in his excellent judgment, shall think fit to be done for the good of both colonies, we, on our part, shall firmly ratify." May 17, 1660. The same spirit had prevailed for years. Albany Records, iv. 165.

other commissioners, unanimously chosen governor.(1) The oath required of the burgesses made it their paramount duty to provide for "the general good and prosperity" of Virginia and its inhabitants.(2) Under the administration of Berkeley, Bennett had been driven from Virginia ; and now not the slightest effort at revenge was attempted.(3)

The act which constituted the government, claimed for the assembly the privilege of defining the powers which were to belong to the governor and council ; and the public good was declared to require, "that the right of electing all officers of this colony should appertain to the burgesses," as to "the representatives of the people."(4) It had been usual for the governor and council to sit in the assembly ; the expediency of the measure was questioned, and a temporary compromise ensued ; they retained their former right, but were required to take the oath which was administered to the burgesses.(5) Thus the house of burgesses acted as a convention of the people ; exercising supreme authority, and distributing power as the public welfare required.(6)

Nor was this an accidental and transient arrangement. Cromwell never made any appointments for Virginia ; not one governor acted under his commission.(7) When 1655. Bennett retired from office, the assembly itself elected his successor ; and Edward Diggs, who had before been chosen of the council,(8) and who "had given a signal testimony of his fidelity to Virginia, and to the commonwealth of England,"(9) received the suffrages.(10) The commissioners in the colony(11) were rather engaged in settling the affairs and adjusting the boundaries of Maryland, than in controlling the destinies of Virginia.

The right of electing the governor continued to be claimed by the representatives of the people,(12) and

(1) Hening, i. 371. See Stith, 199, who tells the story rightly. Strange that historians would not take a hint from the accurate Stith !

(2) Hening, i. 371.

(3) Langford's Refutation, 3. That Bennett was a Roundhead is indisputable. The contemporary authorities are, Strong's Babylon's Fall, i. 7 and 10 ; Langford's Refutation, 3 ; Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 21. These, taken together, are conclusive. Bennett was of the council in 1646. Hening, i. 322.

(4) Hening, i. 372.

(5) Hening, 373.

(6) Hening's note, i. 369.

(7) Ibid. i. preface, 13.

(8) Hening, 388. Nov. 1654.

(9) Ibid. i. 388.

(10) Ibid. 408. Compare Hening, i. 5, and also 426.

(11) Ibid. 428 and 432. Haz. i. 594.

(12) Ibid. 431.

"worthy Samuel Matthews, an old planter, of nearly forty years' standing," who had been "a most deserving commonwealth's man, kept a good house, lived bravely, and was a true lover of Virginia,"⁽¹⁾ was next honoured with the office. But, from too exalted ideas of his station, he, with the council, became involved in an unequal contest with the assembly by which he had been elected. The burgesses had enlarged their power by excluding the governor and council from their sessions, and, having thus reserved to themselves the first free discussion of every law, had voted an adjournment till November. The governor and council, by message, declared the dissolution of the assembly. The legality of the dissolution was denied :⁽²⁾ and, after an oath of secrecy, every burgess was enjoined not to betray his trust by submission. Matthews yielded, reserving a right of appeal to the protector.⁽³⁾ When the house unanimously voted the governor's answer unsatisfactory, he expressly revoked the order of dissolution, but still referred the decision of the dispute to Cromwell. The members of the assembly, apprehensive of a limitation of colonial liberty by the reference of a political question to England, determined on a solemn assertion of their independent powers. A committee was appointed, of which John Carter, of Lancaster, was the chief ; and a complete declaration of popular sovereignty was solemnly made. The governor and council had ordered the dissolution of the assembly ; the burgesses now decreed the former election of governor and council to be void. Having thus exercised, not merely the right of election, but the more extraordinary right of removal, they re-elected Matthews, "who by us," they add, "shall be invested with all the just rights and privileges belonging to the governor and captain-general of Virginia." The governor submitted, and acknowledged the validity of his ejection by taking the new oath, which had just been prescribed. The council was organized anew ; and the spirit of popular liberty established all its claims.⁽⁴⁾

The death of Cromwell made no change in the constitution of the colony. The message of the governor duly announced the event to the legislature.⁽⁵⁾ It has pleased some English historians to ascribe to Virginia a precipi-

⁽¹⁾ ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 119.

⁽²⁾ Hening's note, i. 430.

⁽³⁾ Hening, i. 496, 497, and 500, 501.

⁽⁴⁾ Hening, i. 504, 505.

⁽⁵⁾ See the names of the members, in Hening, v. i. p. 505, 507.

tate attachment to Charles II. On the present occasion, the burgesses deliberated in private, and unanimously resolved that Richard Cromwell should be acknowledged.(1) But it was a more interesting question, whether the change of protector in England would endanger liberty in Virginia. The letter from the council had left the government to be administered according to former usage. The assembly declared itself satisfied with the language.(2) But, that there might be no reason to question the existing usage, the governor was summoned to come to the house, where he appeared in person, deliberately acknowledged the supreme power of electing officers to be, by the present laws, resident in the assembly, and pledged himself to join in addressing the new protector for special confirmation of all existing privileges. The reason for this extraordinary proceeding is assigned; "that what was their privilege now, might be the privilege of their posterity."(3) The frame of the Virginia government was deemed worthy of being transmitted to remote generations.

On the death of Matthews, the Virginians were without a chief magistrate, just at the time when the resignation of Richard had left England without a government. The burgesses, who were immediately convened, resolving to become the arbiters of the fate of the colony, enacted, "that the supreme power of the government of this country shall be resident in the assembly; and all writs shall issue in its name, until there shall arrive from England a commission, which the assembly itself shall adjudge to be lawful."(4) This being done, Sir William Berkeley was elected governor;(5) and, acknowledging the validity of the acts of the burgesses, whom, it was expressly agreed, he could in no event dissolve, he accepted the office, and recognized, without a scruple, the authority to which he owed his elevation. "I am," said he, "but a servant of the assembly."(6) Virginia did not lay claim to absolute independence, but, awaiting the settlement of affairs in England, hoped for the restoration of the Stuarts.(7)

The legislation of the colony had taken its character from the condition of the people, who were essentially

(1) Hening, i. 511. Mar. 1659.

(2) Hening, i. 511.

(3) Ibid. 511, 512.

(4) Ibid. 530, Act.

(5) Ibid. 530, 531, and 5.

(6) Smith's New York, 27.

(7) Hening's note, i. 526—529.

agricultural in their pursuits ; and it is the interest of society in that state to discountenance contracting debts. Severe laws for the benefit of the creditor are the fruits of commercial society ; Virginia possessed not one considerable town, and her statutes favoured the independence of the planter, rather than the security of trade. The representatives of colonial landholders voted "the total ejection of mercenary attorneys."(1) By a special act, emigrants were safe against suits designed to enforce engagements that had been made in Europe ;(2) and colonial obligations might be easily satisfied by a surrender of property.(3) Tobacco was generally used instead of coin. Theft was hardly known, and the spirit of the criminal law was mild. The highest judicial tribunal was the assembly, which was convened once a year, or oftener.(4) Already large landed proprietors were frequent ; and plantations of two thousand acres were not unknown.(5)

During the suspension of the royal government in England, Virginia attained unlimited liberty of commerce, which she regulated by independent laws. The ordinance of 1650 was rendered void by the act of capitulation ; the Navigation Act of Cromwell was not designed for her oppression,(6) and was not enforced within her borders. If an occasional confiscation took place, it was done by the authority of the colonial assembly.(7) The war between England and Holland did not wholly interrupt the intercourse of the Dutch with the English colonies ; and if, after the treaty of peace, the trade was considered contraband, the English restrictions were entirely disregarded.(8) A remonstrance, addressed to Cromwell, 1656, demanded an unlimited liberty ; and we may suppose that it was not refused ; for, some months before Cromwell's death, the Virginians "invited the Dutch and 1658. all foreigners" to trade with them, on payment of no higher duty than that which was levied on such English vessels as were bound for a foreign port.(9) Proposals of peace and commerce between New Netherlands and

(1) Hening, i. 275, 302, 313, 349, 419, 482, 495 ; and Preface, 18.

(2) Ibid. 256, 257.

(3) Ibid. 294.

(4) Hammond, 13. Sad State, 21.

(5) Virginia's Cure, 2 and 8. Sad State, 9.

(6) The commerce between the Dutch and Virginia was hardly interrupted.

(7) Hening, i. 382, 383.

(8) Thurloe, v. 80. Hazard, i. 599—602.

(9) Hening, i. 469.

Virginia were discussed without scruple by the respective colonial governments ; (1) and at last a special statute 1660. of Virginia extended to every Christian nation, in amity with England, a promise of liberty to trade and equal justice.(2) At the restoration, Virginia enjoyed freedom of commerce with the whole world.

Religious liberty advanced under the influence of independent domestic legislation. No churches had been erected except in the heart of the colony ;(3) and there were so few ministers, that a bounty was offered for their importation.(4) Conformity had, in the reign of Charles, been enforced by measures of disfranchisement and exile.(5) By the people under the commonwealth, though they were attached to the church of their fathers, all things respecting parishes and parishioners were referred to their own ordering ;(6) and religious liberty would have been perfect, but for an act of intolerance, by which all Quakers were banished, and their return regarded as a felony.(7)

Virginia was the first state in the world, composed of separate boroughs, diffused over an extensive surface, where the government was organized on the principle of universal suffrage. All freemen, without exception, were entitled to vote. An attempt was once made to limit 1655. the right to house-keepers ;(8) but the public voice reproved the restriction ; the very next year, it was decided to be "hard, and unagreeable to reason, that 1656. any person shall pay equal taxes, and yet have no votes in elections ;" and the electoral franchise was restored to all freemen.(9) Servants, when the time of their

(1) The statements in this paragraph derive ample confirmation from the very copious Dutch Records at Albany, iv. 91; ix. 57—59; iv. 96, 122, 165, 198; particularly iv. 211, where the rumour of an intended prohibition of Dutch trade in Virginia is alluded to in a letter from the W. I. Co. to Stuyvesant. That was in 1656, precisely at the time referred to in the rambling complaint in Hazard, i. 600, and still more in the very rare little volume by L. G., "Public Good without Private Interest, or a Compendious Remonstrance of the Present Sad State and Condition of the English Colonie in Virginea ; 1657," pp. 13, 14. The prohibition alluded to is not in the Navigation Act of St. John, nor did any such go into effect. See Albany Records, iv. 236. The very rare tract of L. G. I obtained through the kindness of John Brown, of Providence.

(2) Smith, 27. Hening, i. 459.

(3) Norwood, in Churchill, vi. 186.

(4) Hening, i. 418.

(5) Hening, i. 123, 144, 149, 155, 180, 240, 268, 269, 277.

(6) Ibid. i. 433, Act 1. 1658.

(7) Ibid. i. 532, 533.

(8) Ibid. Preface, 19, 20, and 412, Act 7. March, 1655.

(9) Ibid. i. 403, Act 16.

bondage was completed, at once became electors, and might be chosen burgesses.(1)

Thus Virginia established upon her soil the supremacy of the popular branch, the freedom of trade, the independence of religious societies, the security from foreign taxation, and the universal elective franchise. If, in following years, she departed from either of these principles, and yielded a reluctant consent to change, it was from the influence of foreign authority. Virginia had herself, almost unconsciously, established a nearly independent democracy; and already preferred her own sons for places of authority.(2) The country felt itself honoured by those who were "Virginians born;"(3) and emigrants never again desired to live in England.(4) Prosperity advanced with freedom; dreams of new staples and infinite wealth were indulged;(5) while the population of Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, may have been about thirty thousand. Many of the recent emigrants had been royalists in England, good officers in the war, men of education, of property, and of condition. The revolution had not subdued their characters; but the waters of the Atlantic divided them from the political strifes of Europe; their industry was employed in making the best advantage of their plantations; the interests and liberties of Virginia, the land which they adopted as their country, were dearer to them than the monarchical principles which they had espoused in England;(6) and therefore no bitterness could exist between the firmest partisans of the Stuarts and the friends of republican liberty. Virginia had long been the home of its inhabitants. "Among many other blessings," said their statute-book,(7) "God Almighty hath vouchsafed increase of children to this colony; who are now multiplied to a considerable number;" and the huts in the wilderness were as full as the birds'-nests of the woods.

The genial climate and transparent atmosphere delighted

(1) Virginia's Cure, p. 18. Sad State, p. 4.

(2) Hammond's Leah and Rachel, p. 15.

(3) Thurloe, ii. 274.

(4) Hammond, 8.

(5) E. Williams, Virginia, and Virginia's Discovery of Silk-worms, 1650.

(6) Clarendon, b. xiii. v. iii. pp. 466, 467. Walsh's Appeal, p. 31.

(7) Hening, i. 336: "A very numerous generation of Christian children born in Virginia, who naturally are of beautiful and comely persons, and generally of more ingenious spirits than those of England." Virginia's Cure, 5.

those who had come from the denser air of England. Every object in nature was new and wonderful. The loud and frequent thunder-storms were phenomena that had been rarely witnessed in the colder summers of the north ; the forests, majestic in their growth, and free from underwood, deserved admiration for their unrivalled magnificence ; the purling streams and the frequent rivers, flowing between alluvial banks, quickened the ever-pregnant soil into an unwearied fertility ; the strangest and the most delicate flowers grew familiarly in the fields ; the woods were replenished with sweet barks and odours ; the gardens matured the fruits of Europe, of which the growth was invigorated and the flavour improved by the activity of the virgin mould. Especially the birds, with their gay plumage and varied melodies, inspired delight ; every traveller expressed his pleasure in listening to the mocking-bird, which caroled a thousand several tunes, imitating and excelling the notes of all its rivals. The humming-bird, so brilliant in its plumage, and so delicate in its form, quick in motion, yet not fearing the presence of man, haunting about the flowers like the bee gathering honey, rebounding from the blossoms into which it dips its bill, and as soon returning "to renew its many addresses to its delightful objects," was ever admired as the smallest and the most beautiful of the feathered race. The rattlesnake, with the terrors of its alarms and the power of its venom ; the opossum, soon to become as celebrated for the care of its offspring as the fabled pelican ; the noisy frog, booming from the shallows like the English bittern ; the flying squirrel ; the myriads of pigeons, darkening the air with the immensity of their flocks, and, as men believed, breaking with their weight the boughs of trees on which they alighted,—were all honoured with frequent commemoration, and became the subjects of the strangest tales. The concurrent relation of all the Indians justified the belief, that, within ten days' journey towards the setting of the sun, there was a country where gold might be washed from the sand, and where the natives themselves had learned the use of the crucible ; (1) but definite and accurate as were the accounts, inquiry was always baffled ; and the regions of gold remained for two centuries an undiscovered land.

(1) E. Williams, Virginia, &c. 17. Compare Silliman's Journal, on the Mines of N. C. xxiii. 8, 9.

Various were the employments by which the calmness of life was relieved. George Sandys, an idle man, who had been a great traveller, and who did not remain in America, a poet, whose verse was tolerated by Dryden and praised by Izaak Walton, beguiled the ennui of his seclusion by translating the whole of Ovid's Metamorphoses.(1) To the man of leisure, the chase furnished a perpetual resource. It was not long before the horse was multiplied in Virginia'; and to improve that noble animal, was early an object of pride, soon to be favoured by legislation. Speed was especially valued ; and "the planter's pace" became a proverb.

Equally proverbial was the hospitality of the Virginians. Labour was valuable ; land was cheap ; competence promptly followed industry. There was no need of a scramble ; abundance gushed from the earth for all. The morasses were alive with water-fowl ; the creeks abounded with oysters, heaped together in inexhaustible beds ; the rivers were crowded with fish ; the forests were nimble with game ; the woods rustled with coveys of quails and wild turkeys, while they rung with the merry notes of the singing-birds ; and hogs, swarming like vermin, ran at large in troops. It was "the best poor man's country in the world." "If a happy peace be settled in poor England," it had been said, "then they in Virginia shall be as happy a people as any under heaven."(2) But plenty encouraged indolence. No domestic manufactures were established ; everything was imported from England. The chief branch of industry, for the purpose of exchanges, was tobacco-planting ; and the spirit of invention was enfeebled by the uniformity of pursuit.

(1) Rymer, xviii. 676, 677. Walton's Hooker, 32.

(2) ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 116, 106. Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 9, 10, 5.

CHAPTER VII.

COLONIZATION OF MARYLAND.

THE limits of Virginia, by its second charter, extended two hundred miles north of Old Point Comfort, and therefore included all the soil which subsequently formed the state of Maryland. It was not long before the country towards the head of the Chesapeake was explored; settlements in Accomack were extended; and commerce was begun with the tribes which Smith had been the first to visit. Porey, the secretary of the colony, "made a discovery into the great bay," as far as the river Patuxent, which he ascended; but his voyage probably reached no farther to the north. The English settlement of a hundred men, which he is represented to have found already established,(1) was rather a consequence of his voyage, and seems to have been on the eastern shore, perhaps within the limits of Virginia.(2) The hope "of a very good trade of furs" animated the adventurers; and if the plantations advanced but slowly, there is yet evidence that commerce with the Indians was earnestly pursued under the sanction of the colonial government.(3)

An attempt was made to obtain a monopoly of this commerce(4) by William Clayborne, whose resolute and enterprising spirit was destined to exert a powerful and long-continued influence. His first appearance in America was as a surveyor,(5) sent by the London company to make a map of the country. At the fall of the corporation, he had been appointed by King James a member of the council;(6) and, on the accession of Charles, was continued in office, and in repeated commissions was nominated secretary of state.(7) At the same time, he received authority from the governors of Virginia to discover the source of the Bay of the Chesapeake, and, indeed, any part of

(1) Chalmers, 206. (2) Purchas, iv. 1784. Smith, ii. 61—64.

(3) Relation of Maryland, 4, ed. 1635. Smith's History of Virginia, ii. 63 and 95.

(4) Relation of Maryland, 1635, p. 10.

(5) Hening, i. 116.

(7) Hazard, i. 234 and 239.

(6) Hazard, i. 189.

that province from the thirty-fourth to the forty-first degree of latitude.⁽¹⁾ It was, therefore, natural that he should become familiar with the opportunities for traffic which the country afforded ; and the jurisdiction and the settlement of Virginia seemed about to extend to the forty-first parallel of latitude, which was then the boundary of New England. Upon his favourable representation, a company was formed in England for trading with the natives ; and, through the agency of Sir William Alexander, the Scottish proprietor of Nova Scotia, a royal license was issued, sanctioning the commerce, and conferring on Clayborne powers of government over the companions of his voyages.⁽²⁾ Harvey enforced the commands of his sovereign, and confirmed the license by a colonial commission.⁽³⁾ The Dutch plantations were esteemed to border upon Virginia. After long experience as a surveyor, and after years employed in discoveries, Clayborne, now acting under the royal license, formed establishments, not only on Kent Island, in the heart of Maryland, but also near the mouth of the Susquehannah.⁽⁴⁾ Thus the colony of Virginia anticipated the extension of its commerce and its limits ; and, as mistress of all the vast and commodious waters of the Chesapeake, and of the soil on both sides of the Potomac, indulged the hope of obtaining the most brilliant commercial success, and rising into powerful opulence, without the competition of a rival.

It was the peculiar fortune of the United States, that they were severally colonized by men in origin, religious faith, and purposes, as various as the climes which are included within their limits. Before Virginia could complete its settlements, and confirm its claims to jurisdiction over the country north of the Potomac, a new government was erected, on a foundation as extraordinary as its results were benevolent. Sir George Calvert had early become interested in colonial establishments in America. A native of Yorkshire,⁽⁵⁾ educated at Oxford,⁽⁶⁾ with a mind enlarged by extensive travel, on his entrance into life befriended by Sir Robert Cecil, advanced to the

(1) Papers in Chalmers, 227.

(2) Chalmers, 227, 228.

(3) Chalmers, 228, 229.

(4) Hazard, i. 430. Relation of Maryland, 34. Thurloe, v. 486. Hazard, i. 630. Maryland Papers, in Chalmers, 233.

(5) Fuller's Worthies, 201.

(6) Wood's Athene Oxonienses, 522, 523.

honours of knighthood, and at length employed as one of the two secretaries of state,⁽¹⁾ he not only secured the consideration of his patron and his sovereign,⁽²⁾ but the good opinion of the world. He was chosen, by an immense majority, to represent in Parliament his native county of Yorkshire.⁽³⁾ His capacity for business, his industry, and his fidelity, are acknowledged by all historians. In an age when religious controversy still continued to be active, and when the increasing divisions among Protestants were spreading a general alarm, his mind sought relief from controversy in the bosom of the Roman Catholic church ; and, preferring the avowal of his opinions to the emoluments of office, he resigned his place, and openly professed his conversion. King James was never bitter against the Catholics who respected his pretensions as a monarch ; Calvert retained his place in the privy council, and was advanced to the dignity of an Irish peerage. He had, from early life, shared in the general enthusiasm of England in favour of American plantations ; he had been a member of the great company for Virginia ; and, while secretary of state, he had obtained a special patent for the southern promontory of Newfoundland. How zealous he was in selecting suitable emigrants, how earnest to promote habits of domestic order and economical industry, how lavishly he expended his estate in advancing the interests of his settlement on the rugged shores of Avalon,⁽⁴⁾ is related by those who have written of his life. He desired, as a founder of a colony, not present profit, but a reasonable expectation ; and, perceiving the evils of a common stock, he cherished enterprise by leaving each one to enjoy the results of his own industry. But numerous difficulties prevented success in Newfoundland : Parliament had ever asserted the freedom of the fisheries,⁽⁵⁾ which his grants tended to impair ; the soil and the climate proved less favourable than had been described in the glowing and deceptive pictures of his early agents ; and the incessant danger

(1) Stow, edition of 1631, p. 1031.

(2) Winwood, ii. 58, and iii. 318 and 337.

(3) Debates of 1620 and 1621, i. 175.

(4) Whitbourne's Newfoundland, in the Cambridge library. Also, Purchas, iv. 1882—1891 ; Collier on Calvert ; Fuller's Worthies of Yorkshire, 201, 202 ; Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, ii. 522, 523 ; Lloyd's State Worthies, in Biog. Brit. article Calvert ; Chalmers, 201.

(5) Chalmers, 84, 100, 114, 115, 116, 130.

of attacks from the French, who were possessed of the circumjacent continent, spread a gloom over the future. Twice, it is said, did Lord Baltimore, in person, visit his settlement; with ships, manned at his own charge, he repelled the French, who were hovering round the coast with the design of annoying the English fishermen; and, having taken sixty of them prisoners, he secured a temporary tranquillity to his countrymen and his colonists. But, notwithstanding this success, he found all hopes of a thriving plantation in Avalon to be vain. Why should the English emigrate to a rugged and inhospitable island, surrounded by a hostile power, when the hardships of colonizing the milder regions of Virginia had already been encountered, and a peaceful home might now be obtained without peril?

Lord Baltimore looked to Virginia, of which the climate, the fertility, and the advantages, were so much extolled. Yet, as a Papist, he could hardly expect a hospitable welcome in a colony from which the careful exclusion⁽¹⁾ of Roman Catholics had been originally avowed as a special object, and where the statutes of the provincial legislature, as well as the commands of the sovereign, aimed at 1628, a perpetual religious uniformity. When Lord Balti-^{1629.} more visited Virginia in person, the zeal of the assembly immediately ordered the oaths of allegiance and supremacy to be tendered him. It was in vain that he proposed a form which he was willing to subscribe; the government firmly insisted upon that which had been chosen by the English statutes, and which was purposely framed in such language as no Catholic could adopt. A letter was transmitted from the assembly to the privy 1629. council, explanatory of the dispute which had grown out of the intolerance of European legislation.⁽²⁾ It was evident that Lord Baltimore could never hope for quiet in any attempt at establishing a colony within the jurisdiction of Virginia.

But the country beyond the Potomac seemed to be as yet untenanted by any but the scattered hordes of the native tribes. The French, the Dutch, and the Swedes, were preparing to occupy the country; and a grant seemed the readiest mode of securing the soil by an English settlement.⁽³⁾

(1) Hazard, i. 72.

(2) Ancient Records, in Burk, ii. 24—27.

(3) Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 19.

The cancelling of the Virginia patents had restored to the monarch the ample authority of his prerogative over the soil; he might now sever a province from the colony, to which he had at first assigned a territory so vast; and it was not difficult for Calvert—a man of such moderation that all parties were taken with him,(1) sincere in his character, disengaged from all interests, and a favourite with the royal family—to obtain a charter for domains in that happy clime. The nature of the document itself, and concurrent opinion, leave no room to doubt that it was penned by the first Lord Baltimore himself, although it was finally issued for the benefit of his son.

1632. The fundamental charter(2) of the colony of Maryland, however it may have neglected to provide for the power of the king, was the sufficient frank-pledge of the liberties of the colonist, not less than of the rights and interests of the proprietary. The ocean, the fortieth parallel of latitude, the meridian of the western fountain of the Potomac, the river itself from its source to its mouth, and a line drawn due east from Watkin's Point to the Atlantic,—these were the limits of the territory, which was now erected into a province, and from Henrietta Maria, the daughter of Henry IV. and wife of Charles I., whose restless mind, disdaining contentment in domestic happiness, aspired to every kind of power and distinction, received the name of Maryland. The country thus described was given to Lord Baltimore, his heirs and assigns, as to its absolute lord and proprietary, to be holden by the tenure of fealty only, paying a yearly rent of two Indian arrows, and a fifth of all gold and silver ore which might be found. Yet the absolute authority was conceded rather with reference to the crown than the colonists; for the charter, unlike any patent which had hitherto passed the great seal of England, secured to the emigrants themselves an independent share in the legislation of the province, of which the statutes were to be established with the advice and approbation of the majority of the freemen or their deputies. Representative government was indis-

(1) Collier on Calvert.

(2) The charter may be found in Hazard, i. 327—337; in Bacon's Laws of Maryland at Large. It is appended in English to the Relation of Maryland, 1635. It has been commented upon by Chalmers, 202—205; very diffusely by McMahon, 133—183; by Story, i. 92—94; and many others.

solubly connected with the fundamental charter ; and it was especially provided, that the authority of the absolute proprietary should not extend to the life, freehold, or estate of any emigrant. These were the features which endeared the proprietary government to the people of Maryland ; and, but for these, the patent would have been as worthless as those of the London company, of Warwick, of Gorges, or of Mason. It is a singular fact, that the only proprietary charters productive of considerable emolument to their owners, were those which conceded popular liberty. For the benefit of the colony, the statutes restraining emigration were dispensed with ; and, at the appointment of the Baron of Baltimore, all present and future liege people of the English king, except such as should be expressly forbidden, might freely transport themselves and their families to Maryland. Christianity was by the charter made the law of the land ; but no preference was given to any sect ; and equality in religious rights, not less than in civil freedom, was assured. A monopoly of the fisheries had formerly been earnestly resisted by the commons of England : to avoid all dispute on this point, Calvert, in his charter, expressly renounced any similar claim. As a Catholic, he needed to be free from the jurisdiction of his neighbour : Maryland was carefully separated from Virginia ; nor was he obliged to obtain the royal assent to the appointments or the legislation of his province, nor even to make a communication of the results. So far was the English monarch from reserving any right of superintendence in the colony, he left himself without the power to take cognizance of what transpired ; and, by an express stipulation, covenanted, that neither he, nor his heirs, nor his successors, should ever, at any time thereafter, set any imposition, custom, or tax, whatsoever, upon the inhabitants of the province. Thus was conferred on Maryland an exemption from English taxation for ever. Sir George Calvert was a man of sagacity, and an observing statesman. He had beheld the arbitrary administration of the colonies ; and, against any danger of future oppression, he provided the strongest defence which the promise of a monarch could afford. Some other rights were conferred on the proprietary—the advowson of churches ; the power of creating manors and courts baron, and of establishing a colonial aristocracy on the system of sub-infeudation. But these things were

practically of little moment. Even in Europe, feudal institutions appeared like the decrepitude of age amidst the vigour and enterprise of a new and more peaceful civilization ; they could not be perpetuated in the lands of their origin—far less could they renew their youth in America. Sooner might the oldest oaks in Windsor Forest be transplanted across the Atlantic, than the social forms, which Europe itself was beginning to reject as antiquated and rotten. But the seeds of popular liberty, contained in the charter, would find, in the New World, the very soil best suited to quicken them into life and fruitfulness.

Calvert deserves to be ranked among the most wise and benevolent lawgivers of all ages. He was the first in the history of the Christian world to seek for religious security and peace by the practice of justice, and not by the exercise of power ; to plan the establishment of popular institutions with the enjoyment of liberty of conscience ; to advance the career of civilization, by recognizing the rightful equality of all Christian sects. The asylum of Papists was the spot where, in a remote corner of the world, on the banks of rivers which as yet had hardly been explored, the mild forbearance of a proprietary adopted religious freedom as the basis of the state.

Before the patent could be finally adjusted and pass the great seal, Sir George Calvert died,(1) leaving a name against which the breath of calumny has hardly whispered a reproach. The petulance of his adversaries could only taunt him with being “an Hispaniolized Papist.”(2) His son, Cecil Calvert, succeeded to his honours and fortunes. For him, the heir of his father’s intentions(3) not less than of his father’s fortunes, the charter of Maryland was published and confirmed, and he obtained the high distinction of successfully performing what the colonial companies had hardly been able to achieve. At a vast expense, he planted a colony, which for several generations descended as a patrimony to his heirs.

Virginia regarded the severing of her territory with apprehension, and before any colonists had embarked under the charter of Baltimore, her commissioners had in England remonstrated against the grant as an invasion of her commercial rights, an infringement on her domains, and a discouragement to her planters. In Strafford, Lord

(1) Chalmers, 201.

(2) Wilson, in Kennett, iii. 705.

(3) The charter asserts it.

Baltimore found a friend,—for Strafford had been the friend of the father,(1)—and the remonstrance was in vain ; the privy council sustained the proprietary charter, and, advising the parties to an amicable adjustment of all disputes, commanded a free commerce and a good correspondence between the respective colonies.(2)

Nor was it long before gentlemen of birth and quality resolved to adventure their lives and a good part of their fortunes in the enterprise of planting a colony under so favourable a charter. Lord Baltimore, who, for some unknown reason, abandoned his purpose of conducting the emigrants in person, appointed his brother to act as his lieutenant ; and on Friday, the 22nd of November, with a small but favouring gale, Leonard Calvert, and about two hundred people, most of them Roman Catholic gentlemen and their servants, in the *Ark and the Dove*, a ship of large burden, and a pinnace, set sail for the northern bank of the Potomac. Having stayed by the way in Barbadoes and St. Christopher, it was not till 1634. February of the following year that they arrived at Point Comfort, in Virginia ; where, in obedience to the express letters of King Charles, they were welcomed by Harvey with courtesy and humanity. Clayborne also appeared, but it was as a prophet of ill omen, to terrify the company by predicting the fixed hostility of the natives.

Leaving Point Comfort, Calvert sailed into the Potomac,(3) and with the pinnace ascended the stream. A cross was planted on an island, and the country claimed for Christ and for England. At about forty-seven leagues above the mouth of the river, he found the village of Piscataqua, an Indian settlement, nearly opposite Mount Vernon. The chieftain of the tribe would neither bid him go nor stay ; “he might use his own discretion.” It did not seem safe for the English to plant the first settlement so high up the river ; Calvert descended the stream, examining, in his barge, the creeks and estuaries nearer the Chesapeake ; he entered the river which is now called St. Mary’s, and which he named St. George’s, and about four leagues from its junction with the Potomac, he anchored at the Indian town of Yoacomoco. The native inhabit-

(1) Chalmers, 209.

(2) Hazard, i. 337. Bozman, 381 and 265. Chalmers, 231.

(3) Winthrop, i. 134.

ants having suffered from the superior power of the Susquehannahs, who occupied the district between the bays, had already resolved to remove into places of more security in the interior, and many of them had begun to migrate before the English arrived. To Calvert the spot seemed convenient for a plantation ; it was easy, by presents of cloth and axes, of hoes and knives, to gain the good-will of the natives, and to purchase their rights to the soil which they were preparing to abandon. They readily gave consent that the English should immediately occupy one-half of their town, and after the harvest should become the exclusive tenants of the whole. Mutual promises of friendship and peace were made, so that upon the 27th day of March the Catholics took quiet possession of the little place, and religious liberty obtained a home, its only home in the wide world, at the humble village which bore the name of St. Mary's.

Three days after the landing of Calvert, the *Ark and the Dove* anchored in the harbour. Sir John Harvey soon arrived on a visit ; the native chiefs also came to welcome or to watch the emigrants, and were so well received, that they resolved to give perpetuity to their league of amity with the English. The Indian women taught the wives of the new comers to make bread of maize ; the warriors of the tribe instructed the huntsmen how rich were the forests of America in game, and joined them in the chase. And as the season of the year invited to the pursuits of agriculture, and the English had come into possession of ground already subdued, they were able at once to possess cornfields and gardens, and prepare the wealth of successful husbandry. Virginia, from its surplus produce, could furnish a temporary supply of food, and all kinds of domestic cattle. No sufferings were endured, no fears of want were excited ; the foundation of the colony of Maryland was peacefully and happily laid. Within six months it had advanced more than Virginia had done in as many years. The proprietary continued with great liberality to provide everything that was necessary for its comfort and protection, and spared no cost to promote its interests ; expending in the two first years upwards of forty thousand pounds sterling.(1) But far more memorable was the character of the Maryland institutions. Every other country

(1) Chalmers, 205—208. McMahon, 196—198.

in the world had persecuting laws ; "I will not,"—such was
 1636— the oath for the governor of Maryland,— "I will not,
 1639. by myself or any other, directly or indirectly, molest
 any person professing to believe in Jesus Christ, for or in
 respect of religion."(1) Under the mild institutions and mu-
 nificence of Baltimore, the dreary wilderness soon bloomed
 with the swarming life and activity of prosperous settle-
 ments ; the Roman Catholics, who were oppressed by the
 laws of England, were sure to find a peaceful asylum in
 the quiet harbours of the Chesapeake; and there, too, Pro-
 testants were sheltered against Protestant intolerance.

Such were the beautiful auspices under which the pro-
 vince of Maryland started into being ; its prosperity and its
 peace seemed assured, the interests of its people and its
 proprietary were united, and for some years its internal
 peace and harmony were undisturbed. Its history is the
 history of benevolence, gratitude, and toleration. No
 domestic factions disturbed its harmony. Everything
 breathed peace but Clayborne. Dangers could only grow
 out of external causes, and were eventually the sad con-
 sequences of the revolution in England.

Twelve months had not elapsed before the colony
 1635. of Maryland was convened for legislation. Probably
 all the freemen of the province were present in a strictly
 popular assembly. The laws of the session are no longer
 extant ; but we know that the necessity of vindicating the
 jurisdiction of the province against the claims of Clay-
 borne was deemed a subject worthy of the general delibera-
 tion and of a decisive act ;(2) for he had been roused, by
 confidence in his power, to resolve on maintaining his
 possessions by force of arms. The earliest annals of
 Maryland are defaced by the accounts of a bloody skirmish
 on one of the rivers near the Isle of Kent. Several lives
 were lost in the affray ; but Clayborne's men were de-
 feated and taken prisoners. Clayborne himself had fled
 to Virginia ; and when he was reclaimed by the govern-
 ment of Maryland, Harvey, though he seems himself to
 have favoured Baltimore, sent the fugitive with the wit-
 nesses to England.(3)

(1) Chalmers, 235. McMahon, 226.

(2) Chalmers, 210 and 232. Bacon, in his *Laws at Large*, makes no men-
 tion of this assembly.

(3) Bozman, 280—282. Burk, ii. 40, 41. Chalmers, 209, 210, 232.
 McMahon, 12.

When a colonial assembly was next convened, it passed an act of attainder against Clayborne; for he had not only derided the powers of the proprietary, but had 1638. scattered jealousies among the Indians, and infused a spirit of disobedience into the inhabitants of Kent Island. Now that he had fled, his estates were seized, and were declared forfeited to the laws, which he had contemned as invalid.(1) In England, Clayborne attempted to gain a hearing for his wrongs; and, partly by false representations, still more by the influence of Sir William Alexander, succeeded, for a season, in procuring the favourable disposition of Charles. But when the whole affair came to 1639. be referred to the commissioners for the plantations, it was found that, on received principles, the right of the king to confer the soil and the jurisdiction of Maryland could not be controverted; that the earlier license to traffic did not vest in Clayborne any rights which were valid against the charter, and therefore that the Isle of Kent belonged absolutely to Lord Baltimore, who alone could permit plantations to be established, or commerce with the Indians to be conducted within the limits of his territory.(2)

Yet the people of Maryland were not content with vindicating the limits of their province; they were jealous of their liberties. The charter had secured to them the right of advising and approving in legislation. Did Lord Baltimore alone possess the right of originating laws? The people of Maryland rejected the code which the proprietary, as if holding the exclusive privilege of proposing statutes, had prepared for their government; and, asserting their equal rights of legislation, they, in their turn, enacted a body of laws, which they proposed for the assent of their proprietary;—so uniformly active in America was the spirit of popular liberty. How discreetly it was exercised cannot now be known, for the laws which were then enacted were never ratified, and are therefore not to be found in the provincial records.(3)

In the early history of the United States, nothing is more remarkable than the uniform attachment of each colony to its franchises; and popular assemblies burst

(1) Chalmers, 210.

(2) Bozman, 330—344. Chalmers, 212, 232—235.

(3) Bacon, 1637. Chalmers, 211. Bozman, 299—318, and 324—329. McMahon, 145.

everywhere into life with a consciousness of their importance, and an immediate capacity for efficient legislation. The first assembly of Maryland had vindicated the jurisdiction of the colony ; the second had asserted its claims to original legislation ; the third, which was now convened, examined its obligations, and, though not all its acts were carried through the forms essential to their validity, it yet displayed the spirit of the people and the times by framing a declaration of rights. Acknowledging the duty of allegiance to the English monarch, and securing to Lord Baltimore his prerogatives, it likewise confirmed to the inhabitants of Maryland all the liberties which an Englishman can enjoy at home, established a system of representative government, and asserted for the general assemblies in the province all such powers as may be exercised by the commons of England.(1) Indeed, throughout the whole colonial legislation of Maryland, the body representing the people, in its support of the interests and civil liberties of the province, was never guilty of timidity or treachery.(2) It is strange that religious bigotry could ever stain the statute-book of a colony founded on the basis of the freedom of conscience. An apprehension of some remote danger of persecution seems even then to have hovered over the minds of the Roman Catholics ; and at this session they secured to their church its rights and liberties. Those rights and those liberties, it is plain from the charter, could be no more than the tranquil exercise of the Roman worship. The constitution had not yet attained a fixed form ; thus far it had been a species of democracy under an hereditary patriarch. The act(3) constituting the assembly marks the transition to a representative government. At this session, any freeman who had taken no part in the election, might attend in person ; henceforward, the governor might summon his friends by special writ ; while the people were to choose as many delegates as "the freemen should think good." As yet there was no jealousy of power, no strife for place. While these laws prepared a frame of government for future generations, we are reminded of the feebleness and poverty of the state, where the whole people were obliged to contribute to "the setting up of a water-mill."(4)

(1) Bacon, 1638-9, c. i. ii.

(2) McMahon, 149.

(3) Ibid. 1638-9, c. i. Griffith's Maryland, 7.

(4) Bacon, 1638-9. Chalmers, 213, 214. Griffith, 8.

The restoration of the charter of the London company would have endangered the separate existence of Maryland ; yet we have seen Virginia, which had ever been jealous of the division of its territory, defeat the attempt to revive the corporation. Meantime, the legislative assembly of Maryland, in the grateful enjoyment of happiness, seasonably guarded the tranquillity of the province against the perplexities of an "interim," by providing for the security of the government in case of the death of the proprietary. Commerce also was fostered ; and tobacco, the staple of the colony, subjected to inspection.

Nor was it long before the inhabitants recognized Lord Baltimore's "great charge and solicitude in maintaining the government, and protecting them in their persons, rights, and liberties ;" and therefore, "out of desire to return some testimony of gratitude," they freely granted "such a subsidy as the young and poor estate of the colony could bear."(1) Maryland, at that day, was unsurpassed for happiness and liberty. Conscience was without restraint ; a mild and liberal proprietary conceded every measure which the welfare of the colony required ; domestic union, a happy concert between all the branches of government, an increasing emigration, a productive commerce, a fertile soil, which Heaven had richly favoured with rivers and deep bays, united to perfect the scene of colonial felicity and contentment. Ever intent on advancing the interests of his colony, Lord Baltimore invited the Puritans of Massachusetts to emigrate to Maryland, offering them lands and privileges, and "free liberty of religion ;" but Gibbons, to whom he had forwarded a commission, was "so wholly tutored in the New England discipline," that he would not advance the wishes of the Irish peer ; and the people, who subsequently refused Jamaica and Ireland, were not now tempted to desert the Bay of Massachuetts for the Chesapeake.(2)

But secret dangers existed. The aborigines, alarmed at the rapid increase of the Europeans, vexed at being frequently overreached by the cupidity of traders, not yet entirely recovered from the jealousies which the malignant Clayborne had infused, commenced hostilities ; for the Indians, ignorant of the remedy of

(1) Bacon, 1641-2, c. v.

(2) Winthrop, ii. 148, 149.

redress, always plan retaliation. After a war of frontier aggressions, marked by no decisive events, peace was re-established on the usual terms of submission and promises of friendship, and rendered durable by the prudent legislation of the assembly and the firm humanity of the government. The pre-emption of the soil was reserved to Lord Baltimore, kidnapping an Indian made a capital offence, and the sale of arms prohibited as a felony.(1) A regulation of intercourse with the natives was the surest preventive of war; the wrongs of an individual were ascribed to the nation; the injured savage, ignorant of peaceful justice, panted only for revenge; and thus the obscure villainy of some humble ruffian, whom the government would willingly punish for his outrages, might involve the colony in the horrors of savage warfare.

1643- But the restless Clayborne, urged, perhaps, by the 1646. conviction of having been wronged, and still more by the hope of revenge, proved a far more dangerous enemy. Now that the civil war in England left nothing to be hoped from royal patronage, he declared for the popular party, and, with the assistance of one Ingle, who obtained sufficient notoriety to be proclaimed a traitor to the 1643. king,(2) he was able to promote a rebellion. By the very nature of the proprietary frame of government, the lord paramount could derive physical strength and resources only from his own private fortunes, or from the willing attachment of his lieges. His power depended on a union with his people. In times of peace, this condition was eminently favourable to the progress of liberty; the royal governors were often able, were still more often disposed, to use oppressive and exacting measures; the deputies of the proprietaries were always compelled to struggle for the assertion of the interests of their employer; they could never become successful aggressors on the liberties of the people. Besides, the crown, always jealous of the immense powers which had been carelessly lavished on the proprietary, was usually willing to favour the people in every reasonable effort to improve their condition, or limit the authority of the intermediate sovereign. At present, when the commotions in England left every colony in America almost unheeded, and Virginia and New England were pursuing a course of nearly inde-

(1) Bacon, 1649, c. iii. vi.

(2) Bacon's Preface. Chalmers, 217.

pendent legislation, the power of the proprietary was almost as feeble as that of the king. The other colonies took advantage of the period to secure and advance their liberties: in Maryland, the effect was rather to encourage the insubordination of the restless; and Clayborne was able to excite an insurrection. Early in 1645, the rebels were triumphant; unprepared for an attack, the governor was compelled to fly, and more than a year elapsed before the assistance of the well-disposed could enable him to resume his power and restore tranquillity. The insurgents distinguished the period of their dominion by disorder and misrule, and most of the records were then lost or embezzled.(1) Peace was confirmed by the wise clemency of the government; the offences of the rebellion were concealed by a general amnesty;(2) and the province was rescued, though not without expense,(3) from the distresses and confusion which had followed a short but vindictive and successful incurrection.

The controversy between the king and the parliament advanced; the overthrow of the monarchy seemed about to confer unlimited power in England upon the embittered enemies of the Romish church; and, as if with a foresight of impending danger, and an earnest desire to stay its approach, the Roman Catholics of Maryland, with the earnest concurrence of their governor and of the proprietary, determined to place upon their statute-book an act for the religious freedom which had ever been sacred on their soil. "And whereas the enforcing of the conscience in matters of religion"—such was the sublime tenor of a part of the statute—"hath frequently fallen out to be of dangerous consequence in those commonwealths where it has been practised, and for the more quiet and peaceable government of this province, and the better to preserve mutual love and amity among the inhabitants, no person within this province, professing to believe in Jesus Christ, shall be any ways troubled, molested, or dis-countenanced, for his or her religion, or in the free exercise thereof." Thus did the early star of religious freedom appear as the harbinger of day; though, as it first gleamed above the horizon, its light was coloured and obscured by the mists and exhalations of morning. The

(1) Bacon's Preface. Chalmers, 217, 218. Burk, ii. 112. McMahon, 202.

(2) Bacon, 1650, c. xxiv.

(3) Ibid. 1649, c. ix.

greatest of English poets, when he represents the ground teeming with living things at the word of the Creator, paints the moment when the forms, so soon to be instinct with perfect life and beauty, are yet emerging from the inanimate earth, and when but

half appeared
The tawny lion pawing to get free ;

then springs, as broke from bonds,
And rampant shakes his brindled mane.

So it was with the freedom of religion in the United States. The clause for liberty in Maryland extended only to Christians, and was introduced by the proviso, that "whatsoever person shall blaspheme God, or shall deny or reproach the Holy Trinity, or any of the three persons thereof, shall be punished with death."(1) Nowhere in the United States is religious opinion now deemed a proper subject for penal enactments. The only fit punishment for error is refutation. God needs no avenger in man. The fool-hardy levity of shallow infidelity proceeds from a morbid passion for notoriety, or the malice that finds pleasure in annoyance. The laws of society should do no more than reprove the breach of its decorum. Blasphemy is the crime of despair. One hopeless sufferer commits suicide; another curses Divine Providence for the evil which is in the world, and of which he cannot solve the mystery. The best medicine for intemperate grief is compassion; the keenest rebuke for ribaldry, contempt.

But the design of the law of Maryland was undoubtedly to protect freedom of conscience; and, some years after it had been confirmed, the apologist of Lord Baltimore could assert, that his government, in conformity with his strict and repeated injunctions, had never given disturbance to any person in Maryland for matter of religion;(2) that the colonists enjoyed freedom of conscience, not less than freedom of person and estate, as amply as ever any people in any place of the world.(3) The disfranchised friends of prelacy from Massachusetts, and the Puritans from Virginia, were welcomed to equal liberty of conscience and political rights in the Roman Catholic province of Maryland.(4)

An equal union prevailed between all branches of the

(1) Bacon, 1649, c. i. "A true copy" of the whole law is printed by Langford, 27—32. Compare Hammond's Leah and Rachel, 20, 21.

(2) Langford, 11.

(3) Ibid. 5.

(4) Chalmers, 219. Langford, 3. Hammond, 20.

government in explaining and confirming the civil liberties of the colony. In 1642, Robert Vaughan, in the 1650. name of the rest of the burgesses, had desired, that the house might be separated, and thus a negative secured to the representatives of the people. Before 1649, this change had taken place; and it was confirmed by a statute.(1) The dangerous prerogative of declaring martial law was also limited to the precincts of the camp and the garrison;(2) and a perpetual act declared, that no tax should be levied upon the freemen of the province, except by the vote of their deputies in a general assembly. "The strength of the proprietary" was confidently reposed "in the affections of his people."(3) Well might the freemen of Maryland place upon their records a declaration of their gratitude, "as a memorial to all posterities," and a pledge that succeeding generations would faithfully "remember" the care and industry of Lord Baltimore in advancing "the peace and happiness of the colony."(4)

But the revolutions in England could not but affect the destinies of the colonies; and while New England and Virginia vigorously advanced their liberties under the salutary neglect, Maryland was involved in the miseries of a disputed government. The people were ready to display every virtue of good citizens; but doubts were raised as to the authority to which obedience was due; and the government, which had been a government of benevolence, good order, and toleration, was, by the force of circumstances, soon abandoned to the misrule of bigotry and the anarchy of a disputed sovereignty. When the throne and the peerage had been subverted in England, it might be questioned whether the mimic monarchy of Lord Baltimore should be permitted to continue. When hereditary power had ceased in the mother country, might it properly exist in the colony? It seemed uncertain, if the proprietary could maintain his position; and the scrupulous Puritans hesitated to take an unqualified oath of fealty, with which they might be unable to comply.(5) Englishmen were no longer lieges of a sovereign, but members of a commonwealth; and, but for the claims of Baltimore, Maryland would equally enjoy the benefits of

(1) Bacon, 1649, c. xii. and note 1650, c. i.

(2) Ibid. 1650, c. xxvi.

(4) Ibid. 1650, c. xxiii.

(3) Ibid. 1650, c. xxv.

(5) Strong's Babylon's Fall, 1, 2.

republican liberty. Great as was the temptation to assert independence, it would not have prevailed, could the peace of the province have been maintained. But who, it might well be asked, was the sovereign of Maryland? Her "beauty and extraordinary goodness" had been to her a fatal dowry; and Maryland was claimed by four separate aspirants. Virginia (1) was ever ready to revive its rights to jurisdiction beyond the Potomac, and Clayborne had already excited attention by his presevering opposition ;(2) Charles II., incensed against Lord Baltimore for his adhesion to the rebels and his toleration of schismatics, had issued a commission to Sir William Davenant ;(3) Stone was the active deputy of Lord Baltimore : and parliament had already appointed its commissioners.

In the ordinance(4) for the reduction of the rebellious colonies, Maryland had not been included; if Charles II. had been inconsiderately proclaimed by a temporary officer, the offence had been expiated ;(5) and, as assurances had been given of the fidelity of Stone to the commonwealth, no measures against his authority were designed.(6)

Yet the commissioners were instructed to reduce "all 1651. the plantations within the Bay of the Chesapeake;"(7) and it must be allowed that Clayborne might find in the 1652. ambiguous phrase, intended, perhaps, to include only the settlements of Virginia, a sufficient warrant to stretch his authority to Maryland. The commissioners accordingly entered the province; and, after much altercation with Stone, depriving him of his commission from Lord Baltimore, and changing the officers of the province, they at last established a compromise. Stone, with three of his council, was permitted to retain the executive power till further instructions should arrive from England.(8)

The dissolution of the Long Parliament threatened 1653. a change in the political condition of Maryland; for, it was argued, the only authority under which Bennett and Clayborne had acted had expired with the body from which

(1) Hazard, i. 620—630. McMahon, 207, 208.

(2) Bacon, 1650, c. xvii.

(3) Langford, 3, 4. Grahame's U. S. i. 117, 118.

(4) Hazard, i. 636.

(5) McMahon, 203.

(6) Langford, 6 and 7.

(7) Thurloe, i. 198. Hazard, i. 557. Hammond, 20, 21.

(8) Strong, 2 and 3. Langford, 7 and 8. Bacon's Preface. McMahon, 204, 205. Chalmers, 122.

it was derived.(1) In consequence, Stone, Hatton, and his friends reinstated the rights of Lord Baltimore in their integrity ; displacing all officers of the contrary party, they introduced the old council, and declared the condition of the colony, as settled by Bennett and Clayborne, to have been a state of rebellion.(2) A railing proclamation to that effect was published to the Puritans in their church meeting.

The measures were rash and ill advised. No sooner did Clayborne and his colleague learn the new revolution than they hastened to Maryland, where it was immediately obvious that they could be met by no effectual resistance. Unable to persuade Stone, "in a peaceable and loving way," to abandon the claims of Lord Baltimore, they yet compelled him to surrender his commission and the government into their hands. This being done, Clayborne and Bennett appointed a board of ten commissioners, to whom the administration of Maryland was intrusted.(3)

Intolerance followed upon this arrangement, for parties had necessarily become identified with religious sects, and Maryland itself was the prize contended for.(4) The Puritans, ever the friends of popular liberty, hostile to monarchy, and equally so to a hereditary proprietary, contended earnestly for every civil liberty ; but had neither the gratitude to respect the rights of the government, by which they had been received and fostered, nor magnanimity to continue the toleration, to which alone they were indebted for their residence in the colony. A new assembly, convened at Patuxent, acknowledged the authority of Cromwell, but it also exasperated the whole Romish party by their wanton disfranchisement. An act concerning religion confirmed the freedom of conscience, provided the liberty were not extended to "popery, Prelacy,(5) or licentiousness" of opinion. Yet Cromwell, a friend to religious toleration, and willing that the different sects, "like the cedar, and the myrtle, and the oil-tree, should be planted in the wilderness together," never approved the ungrateful decree. He commanded the

(1) Langford, 10. Strong, 3.

(2) Strong, 3. Hazard, i. 626. The date is there 1653. It was in 1654, as Strong asserts. McMahon, 206, cites Hazard doubtfully. Bacon, 1654, c. xlvi. Hammond, 22.

(3) Strong, 3, 4, 5. Langford, 11, 12. McMahon, 206. Chalmers, 223.

(4) Hammond, 22. Sad State, 9.

(5) Bacon, 1654, c. iv.

commissioners "not to busy themselves about religion, but to settle the civil government." (1)

When the proprietary heard of these proceedings, he was indignant at the want of firmness which his lieutenant had displayed. (2) The pretended assembly was esteemed "illegal, mutinous, and usurped;" and Lord Baltimore and his officers determined, under the powers which the charter conferred, to vindicate his supremacy. (3) Towards the end of January, on the arrival of a friendly ship, 1655, it was immediately noised abroad that his patent had been confirmed by the protector; and orders began again to be issued for the entire restoration of his authority. Papists and others (4) were commissioned by Stone to raise men in arms, and the leaders of this new revolution were able to surprise and get possession of the provincial records. They marched also from Patuxent towards Anne Arundel, the chief seat of the republicans, who insisted on naming it Providence. The inhabitants of Providence and their partisans gathered together with the zeal that belongs to the popular party, and with the courage in which Puritans were never deficient. Vain were proclamations, promises, and threats. The party of Stone was attacked and utterly discomfited; he himself, with others, was taken, and would have been put to death but for the respect and affection borne him by some among the insurgents whom he had formerly welcomed to Maryland. He was kept a prisoner during most of the administration of Cromwell; (5) while four of the principal men of the province, sentenced to death by a council of war, were presently executed. (6)

A friend to Lord Baltimore, then in the province, begged of the protector no other boon than that he would "descend to settle the country by declaring his determinate will." (7) And yet the same causes which led Cromwell to neglect the internal concerns of Virginia, compelled him to pay but little attention to the disturbances in

(1) Chalmers, 236.

(2) Hazard, i. 629. Strong.

(3) Langford, 9, 10.

(4) Strong, 5.

(5) On this occasion were published Strong's *Babylon's Fall in Maryland*, and Langford's *Just and Clear Refutation of a Scandalous Pamphlet, entitled Babylon's Fall in Maryland, 1655.* Both are minute, and, in the main, agree. Compare Chalmers; McMahon, 207; Hazard, i. 621—628, and 629, 630; Bacon's Preface.

(6) Hammond, 22, 23.

(7) Barber, in Langford, 15.

Maryland. On the one hand, he respected the rights of property of Lord Baltimore; on the other, he protected his own political partisans, corresponded with his commissioners, and expressed no displeasure at their exercise of power.⁽¹⁾ The right to the jurisdiction of Maryland remained, therefore, a disputed question. Fuller, Preston, and the others, appointed by Clayborne, actually possessed authority; while Lord Baltimore, with the apparent sanction of the protector, commissioned⁽²⁾ Josias Fendall 1656. to appear as his lieutenant. Fendall had, the preceding year, been engaged in exciting an insurrection, under pretence of instructions from Stone; he now 1657. appeared as an open but unsuccessful insurgent. Little is known of his "disturbance," except that it occasioned a heavy public expenditure.⁽³⁾

Yet the confidence of Lord Baltimore was continued to Fendall, who received anew an appointment to the government of the province. For a season there was a divided rule; Fendall was acknowledged by the Catholic party in the city of St. Mary's, and the commissioners were sustained by the Puritans of St. Leonard's. At length the conditions of a compromise were settled, and the government of the whole province was surrendered to the agent of the proprietary. Permission to retain arms; an indemnity for arrears; relief from the oath of fealty; and a confirmation of the acts and orders of the recent Puritan assemblies;—these were the terms of the surrender, and prove the influence of the Puritans.⁽⁴⁾

Fendall was a weak and impetuous man, but I cannot find any evidence that his administration was stained by injustice. Most of the statutes enacted during his government were thought worthy of being perpetuated. The death of Cromwell left the condition of England uncertain, and might well diffuse a gloom through the counties of Maryland. For ten years the unhappy province had been distracted by dissensions, of which the root had consisted in the claims that Baltimore had always asserted, and had never been able to establish. What should now be done? England was in a less settled condition than ever. Would

(1) Thurloe, i. 724, and iv. 55. Hazard, i. 594, quotes but one of the transcripts. Hammond, 24.

(2) McMahon, 211.

(3) Bacon, 1657, c. viii.
(4) Bacon's Preface, and 1658, c. i. McMahon, 211, and Council Proceedings, in McMahon, note to 14.

the son of Cromwell permanently hold the place of his father? Would Charles II. be restored? Did new revolutions await the colony? new strifes with Virginia, the protector, the proprietary, the king? Wearied with long convulsions, a general assembly saw no security but in asserting the power of the people, and constituting the government on the expression of their will. Accordingly, just one day before that memorable session of Virginia, when the people of the Ancient Dominion adopted a similar system of independent legislation, the representatives of Maryland, convened in the house of Robert Slye, voted themselves a lawful assembly, without dependence on any other power in the province. The burgesses of Virginia had assumed to themselves the election of the council; the burgesses of Maryland refused to acknowledge the rights of the body claiming to be an upper house. In Virginia, Berkley yielded to the public will; in Maryland, Fendall permitted the power of the people to be proclaimed. The representatives of Maryland, having thus successfully settled the government, and hoping for tranquillity after years of storms, passed an act, making it felony to disturb the order which they had established. No authority would henceforward be recognized, except the assembly and the king of England.(1) The light of peace promised to dawn upon the province.

Thus was Maryland, like Virginia, at the epoch of the restoration, in full possession of liberty, based upon the practical assertion of the sovereignty of the people. Like Virginia, it had so nearly completed its institutions, that, till the epoch of its final separation from England, it hardly made any further advances towards freedom and independence.

Men love liberty, even if it be turbulent; and the colony had increased, and flourished, and grown rich, in spite of domestic dissensions. Its population, in 1660, is variously estimated at eight thousand,(2) and at twelve thousand.(3) The country was dear to its inhabitants. There they desired to spend the remnant of their lives; there they coveted to make their graves.(4)

(1) Bacon, 1659-60. McMahon, 212. Chalmers, 224, 225. Griffith, 18. Ebeling, v. 709. The German historian is remarkably temperate. All others have been unjust to the legislature of Maryland.

(2) Fuller's Worthies, ed. 1662.

(4) Hammond, 25.

(3) Chalmers, 226.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE PILGRIMS.

THE settlement of New England was a result of the Reformation ;⁽¹⁾ not of the contest between the new opinions and the authority of Rome, but of implacable differences between Protestant dissenters and the established Anglican church.

Who will venture to measure the consequences of actions by the apparent humility or the remoteness of their origin ? The mysterious influence of that power which enchains the destinies of states, overruling the decisions of sovereigns and the forethought of statesmen, often deduces the greatest events from the least commanding causes. A Genoese adventurer, discovering America, changed the commerce of the world ; an obscure German, inventing the printing-press, rendered possible the universal diffusion of increased intelligence ; an Augustine monk, denouncing indulgences, introduced a schism in religion, and changed the foundations of European politics ; a young French refugee, skilled alike in theology and civil law, in the duties of magistrates and the dialectics of religious controversy, entering the republic of Geneva, and conforming its ecclesiastical discipline to the principles of republican simplicity, established a party, of which Englishmen became members, and New England the asylum. The enfranchisement of the mind from religious despotism led directly to inquiries into the nature of civil government ; and the doctrines of popular liberty, which sheltered their infancy in the wildernesses of the newly-discovered continent, within the short space of two centuries, have infused themselves into the life-blood of every rising state from Labrador to Chili, have erected outposts on the Oregon and in Liberia, and, making a proselyte of enlightened France, have disturbed all the ancient governments of Europe, by awakening the public mind to resistless action, from the shores of Portugal to the palaces of the czars.

The trading company of the west of England, incorporated in the same patent with Virginia, possessed too

(1) Heeren, i. 102, 103.

narrow resources or too little enterprise for success in establishing colonies. The Spaniards, affecting an exclusive right of navigation in the seas of the new hemisphere, captured and confiscated a vessel(1) which Popham, the chief justice of England, and Gorges, the governer of Plymouth, had, with some others, equipped for discovery. But a second and almost simultaneous expedition from Bristol encountered no disasters; and the voyagers, on their return, increased public confidence, by renewing the favourable reports of the country which they had visited.(2) The spirit of adventure was not suffered to slumber; the lord chief justice displayed persevering vigour, for his honour was interested in the success of the company which his influence had contributed to establish; Gorges,(3) the companion and friend of Raleigh, was still reluctant to surrender his sanguine hopes of fortune and domains in America; and, in the next year, two ships were despatched to Northern Virginia, commanded by Raleigh Gilbert, and bearing emigrants for a plantation under the presidency of George Popham.(4) After a tedious voyage, the adventurers reached the coast of America near the mouth of the Kennebec, and, offering public thanks to God for their safety, began their settlement under the auspices of religion, with a government framed as if for a permanent colony. Rude cabins, a storehouse, and some slight fortifications, were rapidly prepared, and the ships sailed for England, leaving forty-five emigrants in the plantation, which was named St. George. But the winter was intensely cold; the natives, at first friendly, became restless; the storehouse caught fire, and part of the provisions was consumed; the emigrants grew weary of their solitude; they lost Popham, their president, "the only one(5) of the company that died there;" the ships which revisited the settlement with

(1) Purchas, iv. 1827 and 1832, and ff. Gorges's Briefe Narration, c. iv. Princee's N. E. Chronology, 113, 114. ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 3, 4.

(2) Gorges, c. v. 6.

(3) The name of Gorges occurs in Hume, c. xliv.; Lingard, viii. 449. Compare Belknap's Biography, i. 347—354. Gorges was ever a sincere royalist.

(4) Gorges, c. vii. viii. ix. Purchas, iv. 1828. Smith, ii. 173—175. Belknap, i. 350—354. i. Mass. Hist. Coll. i. 251, 252. Williamson's History of Maine, i. 197—203. Prince, 116, 117, 118, 119. Hubbard's N.E. 36, 37.

(5) Chalmers, 79, writes: "*They looked at the numerous graves of the dead;*" drawing on his imagination for embellishments. Compare ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 4. Chalmers, 79, names among those who died, "Gilbert, their chief"—an error.

supplies, brought news of the death of the chief justice, the most vigorous friend of the settlement in Eng-
 1608. land; and Gilbert, the sole in command at St. George, had, by the decease of his brother, become heir to an es-
 tate which invited his presence. So the plantation was abandoned; and the colonists, returning to England,
 "did coyne many excuses," and sought to conceal their own deficiency of spirit by spreading exaggerated accounts
 of the rugged poverty of the soil, and the inhospitable severity of the climate.(1) But the Plymouth company
 was dissatisfied with their pusillanimity; Gorges esteemed it a weakness to be frightened at a blast. The idea of a
 settlement in these northern latitudes was no longer ter-
 rific. The American fisheries also constituted a pros-
 perous and well-established business. Three years had
 elapsed since the French had been settled in their huts
 at Port Royal; and the ships which carried the English
 from the Kennebec were on the ocean at the same time
 with the little squadron of the French, who succeeded
 in building Quebec, the very summer in which Maine was
 deserted.

The fisheries and the fur-trade were not relinquished;
 vessels were annually employed in traffic with the Indians;
 and once,(2) at least, perhaps oftener, a part of a ship's
 company remained during a winter on the American coast.

But new hopes were awakened, when Smith,—who
 1614. had already obtained distinction in Virginia, and who
 had, with rare sagacity, discovered, and, with unceasing
 firmness, asserted, that colonization was the true policy
 of England,—with two ships, set sail for the coast north
 of the lands granted by the Virginia patent. The expe-
 dition was a private(3) adventure of "four merchants of
 London and himself," and was very successful. The
 freights were profitable; the health of the mariners did
 not suffer; and the whole voyage was accomplished in less
 than seven months. While the sailors were busy with
 their hooks and lines, Smith examined the shores from the
 Penobscot to Cape Cod, prepared a map of the coast,(4)

(1) Sir W. Alexander's Map of New England, 30.

(2) Gorges, c. x. Prince, 119.

(3) Chalmers, 80, erroneously attributes the expedition to the Plymouth company. See Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 19; and in his Historie, ii. 175, 176; Purchas, iv. 1828.

(4) Map, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii.

and named the the country New England,—a title which Prince Charles confirmed. The French could boast, with truth, that New France had been colonized before New England obtained a name; Port Royal was older than Plymouth, Quebec than Boston. Yet the voyage was not free from crime. After Smith had departed for England, Thomas Hunt, the master of the second ship, kidnapped a large party of Indians, and, sailing for Spain, sold "the poor innocents" into slavery. It is singular how good is educed from evil: one of the number, escaping from captivity, made his way to London, and, in 1619, was restored to his own country, where he subsequently became an interpreter for English emigrants.(1)

Encouraged by commercial success, Smith next 1615. endeavoured, in the employment of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and of friends in London, members of the Plymouth company, to establish a colony. Sixteen men(2) were all whom the adventurers destined for the occupation of New England. The attempt was unsuccessful. Smith was forced by extreme tempests to return. Again renewing his enterprise, he suffered from the treachery of his companions, and was, at last, intercepted by French pirates. His ship was taken away; he himself escaped alone, in an open boat, from the harbour of Rochelle.(3) The severest privations in a new settlement would have been less wearisome, than the labours which his enthusiasm now prompted him to undertake. Having published a map and a description of New England, he spent many months(4) in visiting the merchants and gentry of the west of England, to excite their zeal for enterprise in America: he proposed to the cities, mercantile profits, 1617. to be realized in short and safe voyages; to the noblemen, vast dominions; from men of small means, his earnestness concealed the hardships of emigrants, and upon the dark ground, drew a lively picture of the rapid advancement of fortune by colonial industry, of the

(1) Smith's Description of New England, 47. Smith's Generall Historie, ii. 176. Morton's Memorial, 55, and Davis on Morton. Prince, 132. Mourt's Relation, in i. M. H. Coll. viii. 238. Plantation of N. England, in ii. Mass. Hist. Coll. ix. 6, 7.

(2) Williamson's Maine, i. 212. The learned and very valuable historian of Maine confounds this design of Smith to found a colony with his previous voyage for trade and discovery.

(3) Smith, ii. 205—215; and in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 20, 21.

(4) Smith, ii. 218.

abundance of game, the delights of unrestrained liberty ; the pleasures to be derived from "angling and crossing the sweet air from isle to isle, over the silent streams of a calm sea." (1) The attention of the western company was excited ; they began to form vast plans of colonization ; Smith was appointed admiral of the country for life ; and a renewal of the letters-patent, with powers analogous to those possessed by the southern company, became an object of eager solicitation. But a new ^{1618.} charter was not obtained without vigorous opposition. " Much difference there was betwixt the Londoners and the Westerlings," (2) since each party strove to engross all the profits to be derived from America ; while the interests of the nation were boldly sustained by others, who were desirous that no monopoly should be conceded to either company. The remonstrances of the Virginia corporation, (3) and a transient regard for the rights of the country, could delay, but not defeat, a measure that was sustained by the personal favourites of the monarch.

^{1620.} After two years' entreaty, the ambitious adventurers gained everything which they had solicited ; and King James issued to forty of his subjects, some of them members of his household and his government, the most wealthy and powerful of the English nobility, a patent, (4) which in American annals, and even in the history of the world, has but one parallel. The adventurers and their successors were incorporated as " The Council established at Plymouth, in the county of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing New England, in America." The territory conferred on the patentees in absolute property, with unlimited jurisdiction, the sole powers of legislation, the appointment of all officers and all forms of government, extended, in breadth, from the fortieth to the forty-eighth degree of north latitude, and, in length, from the Atlantic to the Pacific ; that is to say, nearly all the inhabited British possessions to the north of the United States, all New England, New York, half of New Jersey, very nearly all Pennsylvania, and the whole of the country to the west of these states, comprising, and, at

(1) Smith's Historie, ii. 201.

(2) Ibid. in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 21. Hubbard, 84, 85. Gorges ; Purchas, iv. 1830, 1831.

(3) Stith, 185. Hazard, i. 390.

(4) Trumbull's Connecticut, i. 546—567. Hazard, i. 103—118. Baylies, i. 160—185. Compare Hubbard, c. xxx. ; Chalmers, 81—85.

the time, believed to comprise,(1) much more than a million of square miles, and capable of sustaining far more than two hundred millions of inhabitants, were, by a single signature of King James, given away to a corporation within the realm, composed of but forty individuals. The grant was absolute and exclusive: it conceded the land and islands; the rivers and the harbours; the mines and the fisheries. Without the leave of the council of Plymouth, not a ship might sail into a harbour from Newfoundland to the latitude of Philadelphia; not a skin might be purchased in the interior; not a fish might be caught on the coast; not an emigrant might tread the soil. No regard was shown for the liberties of those who might become inhabitants of the colony; they were to be ruled, without their own consent, by the corporation in England. The patent favoured only the cupidity of the proprietors, and possessed all the worst features of a commercial monopoly. A royal proclamation was soon issued, enforcing its provisions; and a revenue was already considered certain from an onerous duty on all tonnage employed in the American fisheries.(2) The results which grew out of the concession of this charter form a new proof, if any were wanting, of that mysterious connection of events by which Providence leads to ends that human councils had not conceived. The patent left the emigrants at the mercy of the unrestrained power of the corporation; and it was under concessions from that plenary power, confirmed, indeed, by the English monarch, that institutions the most favourable to colonial liberty were established. The patent yielded everything to the avarice of the corporation; the very extent of the grant rendered it of little value. The jealousy of the English nation, incensed at the concession of vast monopolies by the exercise of the royal prerogative, immediately prompted the House of Commons to question the validity of the grant;(3) and the French nation, whose traders had been annually sending home rich freights of furs, while the English were disputing about charters and commissions, derided the tardy action of the British monarch in be-

(1) Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 31, estimates the land at one million one hundred and twenty thousand square miles—a computation far below the truth.

(2) Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 32. Smith, ii. 263.

(3) Chalmers, 100—102. Parliamentary Debates, 1620—1621, i. 260, 318, 319.

stowing lands and privileges, which their own sovereign, seventeen years before, had appropriated.(1) The patent was designed to hasten plantations, in the belief that men would eagerly throng to the coast, and put themselves under the protection of the council ; and, in fact, adventurers were delayed, through fear of infringing the rights of a powerful company.(2) While the English monopolists were wrangling about their exclusive privileges, the first permanent colony on the soil of New England was established without the knowledge of the corporation, and without the aid of King James.

The reformation in England—an event which had been long and gradually prepared among the people by the opinions and followers of Wickliffe, and in the government by increasing and successful resistance to the usurpations of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—was at length abruptly established during the reign and in conformity with the passions of a despotic monarch. The acknowledgment of the right of private judgment,(3) far from being the cause of separation from Rome, was one of its latest fruits. Luther was more dogmatical than his opponents ; though the deep philosophy with which his mind was imbued repelled the use of violence to effect conversion in religion.

He was wont to protest against propagating reform
1522. by persecution and massacres ; and, with wise moderation, an admirable knowledge of human nature, a familiar and almost ludicrous quaintness of expression, he would deduce from his great principle of justification by faith alone the sublime doctrine of the freedom of con-
science.(4) Yet Calvin, many years after, anxiously
1553. engaged in dispelling ancient superstitions, was still fearful of the results of sceptical reform, and in his opinions on heresy and its punishment, shared the unhappy error of his time.

(1) iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 20.

(2) iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 32. Smith, ii. 263.

(3) Under Edward VI. intolerance sanctioned by law. See Rymer, xv. 182, 250, under Elizabeth. Rymer, xv. 740 and 741. Compare Lingard, vii. 286, 287 ; Hallam's England, i. 130, 131, 132, 133.

(4) Nolle vi et cæde pro evangelio certari. Compare the passages from Luther's Seven Sermons, delivered in March, 1522, at Wittenberg, quoted in Planck's *Geschichte des Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, ii. 68—72. Summa summarum ! Predigen will ichs, sagen will ichs, schreiben will ichs, aber zwingen, dringen mit Gewalt will ich niemand ; denn der Glaube will willig, ungenöthigt und ohne Zwang angenommen werden. I have quoted these words, which are in harmony with Luther's doctrines and his works, as a reply to those who, like Turner, in his History, iii. 135, erroneously charge the great German reformer with favouring persecution.

In England, so far was the freedom of private inquiry from being recognized as a right, the means of forming a judgment on religious subjects was denied. The act ^{1534.} of supremacy,(1) which effectually severed the English nation from the Roman see, contained no clause favourable to religious liberty. It was but a vindication of the sovereign franchise of the English monarch against foreign interference; it did not aim at enfranchising the English church, far less the English people, or the English mind. The king of England became the pope in his own dominions, and heresy was still accounted the greatest of all crimes.(2) The right of correcting errors of religious faith became, by the suffrage of parliament, a branch of the royal prerogative; and, as active minds among the people were continually proposing new schemes of doctrine, a statute, alike arrogant in its pretensions and vindictive in its menaces, was, after great opposition in parliament,^{1539.} enacted "for abolishing diversity of opinions."⁽³⁾ All the Roman Catholic doctrines were asserted, except the supremacy of Rome. The pope could praise Henry VIII. for orthodoxy, while he excommunicated him for disobedience. He commended to the wavering emperor the English sovereign as a model for soundness of belief, and anathematized him only for contumacy.⁽⁵⁾ It was Henry's pride to defy the authority of the Roman bishop, and yet to enforce the doctrines of the Roman church. He was as tenacious of his reputation for Catholic orthodoxy, as of his claim to spiritual dominion. He disdained submission, and detested heresy.

Nor was Henry VIII. slow to sustain his new prerogatives. He rejected the advice of the Commons, as of "brutes and inexpert folks,"—of men as unfit to advise him as "blind men are to judge of colours."⁽⁶⁾ According to ancient usage, no sentence of death, awarded by the ecclesiastical courts, could be carried into effect until a writ had been obtained from the king. The regulation had been adopted in a spirit of mercy, securing to the tem-

(1) 25 Henry VIII. c. xix. xx. xxi. Statutes, iii. 460—471. 26 Henry VIII. c. i. iii. xiii. Statutes, iii. 492, 493—499, 508, 509. Lingard, iv. 266—270, and vi. 281—283.

(2) Henry, xii. 53. Turner, ii. 349—353. Mackintosh, ii. 147—150.

(3) Strype's Memorials, i. 352.

(4) 31 Henry VIII. c. xiv. Statutes, iii. 739—743. Lingard, vi. 380—386. Bossuet, Hist. des Variations, l. vii. c. xxiv.—xl. Henry, xii. 84.

(5) Fra Paolo, i. 82.

(6) Herbert's Henry VIII. 418, 419.

poral authorities the power of restraining persecution.(1) The heretic might appeal from the atrocity of the priest to the mercy of the sovereign. But now, what hope could remain, when the two authorities were united; and the law, which had been enacted as a protection of the subject, was become the powerful instrument of tyranny! The establishment of the English church under the king was inexorably sustained. No virtue, no eminence, conferred security. Not the forms of worship merely, but the minds of men, were declared subordinate to the government; faith, not less than ceremony, was to vary with the acts of parliament. Death was denounced against the Catholic who denied the king's supremacy, and the Protestant who doubted his creed. Had Luther been an Englishman, he might have perished by fire.(2) In the latter part of his life, Henry revoked the general permission of reading the Scriptures, and limited the privilege to merchants and nobles. He always adhered to his old religion;(3) he believed its most extravagant doctrines to the last, and died in the Roman rather than in the Protestant faith.(4) But the awakening intelligence of a great nation could not be terrified into a passive lethargy. The environs of the court displayed no resistance to the capricious monarch; a subservient parliament yielded him absolute authority in religion;(5) but the advancing genius of the age, even though it sometimes faltered in its progress along untried paths, steadily demanded the emancipation of the public mind.

The accession of Edward VI. led the way to the establishment of Protestantism in England, and, at the same time, gave life to the germs of the difference which was eventually to divide the English. A change in the reformation had already been effected among the Swiss, and especially at Geneva. Luther had based his reform upon the sublime but simple truth which lies at the basis of morals—the paramount value of character and purity of conscience: the superiority of right dispositions over ceremonial exactness; or, as he expressed it, justification by faith alone. But he hesitated to deny the real presence, and was indifferent to the observance of external

(1) Neal's Puritans, i. 55.

(2) Turner's England, iii. 140.

(3) Turner's England, ii. 352.

(4) Bossuet, Hist. des Variations, i. viii. c. iii. iv. and xxiv.—xl. Henry's Great Britain, xii. p. 107.

(5) 37 Henry VIII. c. xvii. Statutes, iii. 1009.

ceremonies. Calvin, with sterner dialectics, sanctioned by the influence of the purest life, and by his power as the ablest writer of his age, attacked the Roman doctrines respecting the communion, and esteemed as a commemoration the rite which the Catholics reverenced as a sacrifice. Luther acknowledged princes as his protectors, and, in the ceremonies of worship, favoured magnificence as an aid to devotion : Calvin was the guide of Swiss republics, and avoided, in their churches, all appeals to the senses as a crime against religion. Luther resisted the Roman church for its immorality ; Calvin for its idolatry. Luther exposed the folly of superstition, ridiculed the hair-shirt and the scourge, the purchased indulgence, and the dearly-bought masses for the dead ; Calvin shrunk from their criminality with impatient horror. Luther permitted the cross and the taper, pictures and images, as things of indifference ; Calvin demanded a spiritual worship in its utmost purity.

The reign of Edward, giving safety to Protestants, soon brought to light that both sects of the reformed church existed in England. The one party, sustained by Cranmer, desired moderate reforms ; the other, countenanced by the protector, were the implacable adversaries of the ceremonies of the Roman church. It was still attempted to enforce(1) uniformity by menaces of persecution ; but the most offensive of the Roman doctrines were expunged from the liturgy. The tendency of the public mind favoured a greater simplicity in the forms of devotion ; the spirit of inquiry was active ; not a rite of the established worship, not a point in church government, escaped unexamined ; not a vestment nor a ceremony remained, of which the propriety had not been denied. The spirit of inquiry rebelled against prescription. A more complete reform was demanded ; and the friends of the established liturgy expressed in the prayer-book itself a wish for its furtherance.(2) The party strongest in numbers pleaded expediency for retaining much that had been sanctioned by ancient usage ; while abhorrence of superstition excited the other party to demand the boldest innovations. The austere principle was now announced, that not even a ceremony should be tolerated, unless it

(1) 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. i. Statutes, iv. 36—39. Rymer, xv. 181—183, and 250—252.

(2) Neal's Puritans, i. 121. Neal's New England, i. 51.

was enjoined by the Word of God. (1) And this was Puritanism. The church of England, at least in its ceremonial part, was established by an act of parliament, or a royal ordinance ; Puritanism, zealous for independence, admitted no voucher but the Bible,—a fixed rule, which it would allow neither parliament, nor hierarchy, nor king, to interpret. The Puritans adhered to the established church as far as their interpretations of the Bible seemed to warrant,—but no further, not even in things of indifference. They would yield nothing in religion to the temporal sovereign ; they would retain nothing that seemed a relic of the religion which they had renounced. They asserted the equality of the plebeian clergy, and directed their fiercest attacks against the divine right of bishops, as the only remaining strong-hold of superstition. In most of these views they were sustained by the reformers of the continent. Bucer and Peter Martyr(2) both complained of the backwardness of the reformation in England ; Calvin wrote in the same strain.(3) When Hooper, who had gone into exile in the latter years of Henry VIII., was appointed Bishop of Gloucester, he, for a time, refused(4)

^{1550.} to be consecrated in the vestments which the law required ; and his refusal marks the era when the Puritans first existed as a separate party. They demanded a thorough reform ; the established church desired to check the propensity to change. The strict party repelled all union with the Catholics ; the politic party aimed at conciliating their compliance. The Churchmen, with, perhaps, a wise moderation, differed from the ancient forms as little as possible, and readily adopted the use of things indifferent : the Puritans could not sever themselves too widely from the Roman usages, and sought glaring occasions to display their antipathy. The surplice and the square cap, for several generations, remained things of importance, for they became the badges of a party. They were rejected as the livery of superstition—the outward sign, that prescription was to prevail over reason, and authority to control in-

(1) So Cartwright, a few years later, in his Reply to Whitgift, 27 : “In matters of the church, there may be nothing done but by the word of God.” In his Second Reply, 1575, p. 81 : “It is not enough, that the Scripture speaketh not against them, unless it speak for them.”

(2) Strype’s Memorials, ii. c. xxviii.

(3) Hallam’s England, i. 140.

(4) Strype’s Memorials, ii. 226, and Repository, ii. 118—132. Hallam, i. 141. Neal’s Puritans, i. 108—113. Prince, 282—307. Prince has written with great diligence and distinctness.

quiry. The unwilling use of them was evidence of religious servitude.

1553-1558. The reign of Mary involved both parties in danger, but they whose principles wholly refused communion with Rome were placed in the greatest peril. Rogers and Hooper, the first martyrs of Protestant England, were Puritans ; and it may be remarked, that, while Cranmer, the head and founder of the English church, desired, almost to the last, by delays, recantations, and entreaties, to save himself from the horrid death to which he was doomed, the Puritan martyrs never sought, by concessions, to escape the flames. For them, compromise was itself apostasy. The offer of pardon could not induce Hooper to waver, nor the pains of a lingering death impair his fortitude. He suffered by a very slow fire, and at length died as quietly as a child in his bed.

A large part of the English clergy returned to their submission to the see of Rome ; others firmly adhered to the reformation, which they had adopted from conviction ; and very many who had taken advantage of the laws (1) of Edward sanctioning the marriage of the clergy, had, in their wives and children, given hostages for their fidelity to the Protestant cause. Multitudes, therefore, hurried into exile to escape the grasp of vindictive bigotry ; but even in foreign lands, two parties among the emigrants were visible ; and the sympathies of a common exile could not immediately eradicate the rancour of religious divisions. The one party (2) aimed at renewing abroad the forms of discipline which had been sanctioned by the English parliaments in the reign of Edward ; the Puritans, on the contrary, endeavoured to sweeten exile by a complete emancipation from ceremonies which they had reluctantly observed. The sojourning in Frankfort was embittered by the anger of consequent divisons ; but time, the great calmer of the human passions, softened the asperities of controversy ; and a reconciliation of the two parties was prepared by concessions (3) to the Puritans. For the circumstances of their abode on the continent were well

(1) 2 and 3 Edward VI. c. xxi., 5 and 6 Edward VI. c. xii., in Statutes, iv. 67, and 146, 147. Strype's Memorials, iii. 108.

(2) Discourse of the Troubles in Frankfort.

(3) Ibid. edition of 1642, p. 160, 161, 162, 163 : " We will joyne with you to be suitors for the reformation and abolishing of all offensive ceremonies." Prince, 287, 288. The documents refute the contrary opinion expressed by Hallam, Const. Hist. i. 233.

adapted to strengthen the influence of the stricter sect. While the companions of their exile had, with the most bitter intolerance, been rejected by Denmark and Northern Germany,(1) the English emigrants received in Switzerland the kindest welcome; their love for the rigorous austerity of a spiritual worship was confirmed by the stern simplicity of the republic; and some of them had enjoyed in Geneva the instructions and the friendship of Calvin.

On the death of Mary, the Puritans returned to 1558. England, with still stronger antipathies to the forms of worship and the vestures, which they now repelled as associated with the cruelties of Roman intolerance at home, and which they had seen so successfully rejected by the churches of Switzerland. The pledges which had been given at Frankfort and Geneva, to promote further reforms, were redeemed.(2) But the controversy did not remain a dispute about ceremonies; it was modified by the personal character of the English sovereign, and became identified with the political parties in the state. The first act of Parliament in the reign of Elizabeth declared the supremacy(3) of the crown in the state ecclesiastical; and the uniformity of common prayer was soon established under the severest penalties.(4) In these enactments, the common zeal to assert the Protestant ascendancy left out of sight the scruples of the Puritans.

The early associations of the younger daughter of Henry VIII. led her to respect the faith of the Catholics, and to love the magnificence of their worship. She publicly thanked one of her chaplains, who had asserted the real presence; and on a revision of the creed of the English church, the tenet of transubstantiation was no longer expressly rejected. To calm the fury of religious intolerance, let it be for ever remembered, that the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, which, by the statutes of the realm in the reign of Edward VI., Englishmen were punished for believing, and in that of Henry VIII. were burned at the stake for denying, was, in the reign of Elizabeth, left undecided, as a question of national indifference. She long struggled to retain images, the crucifix,

(1) Planck's *Geschichte des Protestantischen Lehrbegriffs*, b. v. t. ii. p. 35—45, and 69. (2) Prince, 288.

(3) I Elizabeth, c. i. Statutes, iv. 350—355. Hallam, i. 152. Mackintosh, iii. 45, 46.

(4) I Elizabeth, c. ii. Hallam, i. 153. Mackintosh, iii. 46, 47.

and tapers, in her private chapel ; she was inclined to offer prayers to the Virgin ; she favoured the invocation of saints.(1) She insisted upon the continuance of the celibacy of the clergy, and during her reign their marriages took place only by connivance.(2) For several years she desired and was able to conciliate the Catholics into a partial conformity.(3) The Puritans denounced concession to the Papists, even in things indifferent ; but during the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had conformed in all things, and she still retained an attachment for many tenets that were deemed the most objectionable. Could she, then, favour the party of rigid reform ?

Besides the influence of early education, the love of authority would not permit Elizabeth to cherish the new sect among Protestants—a sect which had risen in defiance of all ordinary powers of the world, and which could justify its existence only on a strong claim to natural liberty. The Catholics were friends to monarchy, if not to the monarch ; they upheld the forms of regal government, if they were not friends to the person of the queen. But the Puritans were the harbingers of a revolution ; the hierarchy charged them with seeking a popular state ; and Elizabeth openly declared that they were more perilous than the Romanists. At a time when the readiest mode of reaching the minds of the common people was through the pulpit, and when the preachers would often speak with plainness and homely energy on all the events of the day, their claim to “the liberty of prophesying” was similar to the modern demand of the liberty of the press ; and the free exercise of private judgment threatened not only to disturb the uniformity of the national worship, but to impair the royal authority and erect the dictates of conscience into a tribunal, before which sovereigns might be arraigned.(4) The Puritan clergy were fast becoming tribunes of the people, and the pulpit was the place for freedom of rebuke and discussion. The queen long desired to establish the national religion mid-way between sectarian licentiousness and Roman supremacy ; and when her policy in religion was once declared, the pride of

(1) Burnett, part ii. b. iii. No. 6. Heylin, 124. Neal's Puritans, i. 191, 192. Mackintosh, iii. 161. Hume, c. xlvi. Hallam, i. 124.

(2) Neal's Puritans, i. 205, 206. Strype's Parker, 107.

(3) Southey's Book of the Church, i. 257, 258.

(4) Cartwright's Second Reply, 158—170. Hallam, i. 254.

authority would brook no opposition. By degrees she occupied politically the position of the head of Protestantism; Catholic sovereigns conspired against her kingdom; the convocation of cardinals proposed measures for her deposition; the pope, in his excommunications, urged her subjects to rebellions. Then it was, that, as the Roman Catholics were no longer treated with forbearance, so the queen, struggling, from regard to her safety, to preserve unity among her friends, hated the Puritans, as mutineers in the camp.

The popular voice was not favourable to a rigorous enforcement of the ceremonies. In the first Protestant convocation of the clergy under Elizabeth, though the square cap and the surplice found in the queen a resolute friend, and though there were in the assembly many, who, at heart, preferred the old religion, the proposition to abolish a part of the ceremonies was lost in the lower house by the majority of a single vote.(1) Nearly nine years passed away before the thirty-nine articles, which

were then adopted, were confirmed by parliament; and the act by which they were finally established required assent to those articles only which concern the confession of faith and the doctrine of the sacraments(2) —a limitation which the Puritans interpreted in their favour.

The House of Commons often displayed an earnest zeal for a further reformation; (3) and its active interference was prevented only by the authority of the queen.

When rigorous orders for enforcing conformity were first issued,(4) the Puritans were rather excited to defiance than intimidated. Of the London ministers, about thirty refused subscription,(5) and men began to speak openly of a secession from the church.(6) At length a separate

(1) Strype's Annals, i. 338, 339. Hallam, i. 238. Prince, 289—293.

(2) Strype's Annals, ii. 71. (3) Prince, 300.

(4) Strype's Annals, i. 460, 461. Appendix to Strype's Parker, b. ii. Do. 24. (5) Strype's Annals, i. 462.

(6) Grindall, in Prince. Cartwright's Second Reply, p. 38: "Not for hatred to the estates of the church of England, but for love to a better." How little the early Puritans knew of the true results of their doctrines of independence of the state in religious matters, is evident from such passages as these, from Cartwright's Second Reply: "Heretykes oughte to be put to deathe nowe. If this be bloudie, and extreme, I am contente to be so counted with the holie Goste." P. 115: "I denie that upon repentance ther oughte to followe any pardon of deathe." P. 116: "The magistrates which punish murther and are loose in punishing the breaches of the first table, begynne at the wronge end." P. 117, the writer continues, displaying intense and consistent bigotry.

congregation was formed ; immediately the government was alarmed ; and the leading men and several women were sent to Bridewell for a year.(1) In vain did some of the best English statesmen of the day favour moderation. Grindall had so sincere a reluctance to persecute, that he was himself charged with secretly favouring Puritanism. The temper of the times is marked by his reply. He denied the charge, not as a falsehood only, but as a calumny, declaring that "some incarnate, never-sleeping devil had wrought him this wrong." The charge of lenity he repelled as a slander on his office ; and claimed sincerity in persecution as essential to his good name.(2) He succeeded in becoming archbishop. Yet Grindall was by nature averse to violence, and when placed at the head of the English clergy, continued till his death to merit the censure of forbearance.

The Puritans, as a body, had avoided a separation from the church. They had desired a reform, and not a schism. When, by espousing a party, a man puts a halter round his neck, and is thrust out from the career of public honour, it may be the rash, the least cautious, and, therefore, the least persevering, who will be the first to display their opinions. So it was in the party of the Puritans. There began to grow up among them a class of men who carried opposition to the Church of England to the extreme, and refused to hold communion with a church of which they condemned the ceremonies and the government. Henry VIII. had enfranchised the English crown ; Elizabeth had enfranchised the Anglican church ; the Puritans claimed equality for the plebeian clergy ; the Independents asserted the liberty of each individual mind to discover "truth in the word of God." The reformation had begun in England with the monarch ; had extended among the nobility ; had been developed under the guidance of a hierarchy ; and had but slowly penetrated the masses. The party of the Independents was plebeian in its origin, and carried the principle of intellectual enfranchisement from authority into the houses of the common people. Its adherents were "neither gentry

(1) Strype's Parker, 242. Strype's Grindall, 114, 115.

(2) Murdin's State Papers, 275, in Mackintosh's Continuator, iii. 261. Had Prince seen this letter, he would hardly have called Grindall a Puritan. See Prince, 298.

nor beggars." The most noisy advocate of the new opinion was Brown, a man of rashness, possessing neither true courage nor constancy ; zealous, but sickle ; dogmatical, but shallow. He has acquired historical notoriety, because his hot-headed indiscretion urged him to 1582. undertake the defence of separation. He suffered much oppression ; he was often imprisoned ; he was finally compelled to go into exile. The congregation which he had gathered, and which banished itself with him, was composed of persons hasty and unstable like himself ; it was soon dispersed by its own dissensions. Brown eventually purchased a living in the English church by conformity.(1) He could sacrifice his own reputation ; "he forsook the Lord, so the Lord forsook him."⁽²⁾ The principles of which the intrepid assertion had alone given him distinction, lay deeply rooted in the public mind ; and as they had not derived life from his support, they did not suffer from his apostasy.

From this time there was a division among the opponents of the church of England. The Puritans acknowledged its merits, but desired its reform ; the Separatists denounced it as an idolotrous institution, false to Christianity and to truth : the Puritans considered it as the temple of God, in which they were to worship, though its altars might need purification ; the Separatists regarded the truths which it might profess, as holy things in the custody of the profane, the Ark of the Lord in the hands of Philistines. The enmity between the divisions of the party eventually became bitter. The Puritans reproached the Brownists with ill-advised precipitancy, and in return were censured for paltering cowardice. The one party abhorred the ceremonics which were a bequest of Popery ; the other party reprobated the Establishment itself. The Puritans desired to amend ; the Brownists, to destroy and rebuild. The feud became bitter in England, and eventually led to great political results ; but the controversy could not be continued beyond the Atlantic, for it required to be nourished by the presence of the hierarchy.

The accession of Whitgift marks the epoch of extreme

(1) Fuller's Church History, b. ix. 167, 168, 169. Neal's Puritans, i. 376—378.

(2) John Robinson's Justification of Separation, 54—a tract of great merit, containing doctrines which necessarily led to the assertion of the freedom of conscience. I use the copy which once belonged to William Bradford, and which is now in the library of Robinson's church.

and consistent rigour in the public councils: for the new archbishop was sincerely attached to the English church, and from a regard to religion, enforced the conformity which the queen desired as the best support of her power. He was a strict disciplinarian, and wished to govern the clergy of the realm as he would rule the members of a college. Subscriptions were now required to points which before had been eluded; (1) the kingdom rung with the complaints for deprivation; the most learned and diligent of the ministry (2) were driven from their places; and those who were introduced to read the liturgy were so ignorant, that few of them could preach. Did men listen to their deprived pastors in the recesses of forests, the offence, if discovered, was visited by fines and imprisonment. A court of high commission was established for the detection and punishment of non-conformity, and was invested with powers as arbitrary as those of the Spanish inquisitors. (3) Men were obliged to answer, on oath, every question proposed, either against others or against themselves. In vain did the sufferers murmur; in vain did parliament disapprove the commission, which was alike illegal and arbitrary; in vain did Burleigh remonstrate against a system so intolerant,

that "the inquisitors of Spain used not so many questions to trap their preys." (4) The archbishop would have deemed forbearance a weakness: and the queen was ready to interpret any freedom in religion as a treasonable denial of her supremacy. Two men were hanged for distributing Brown's tract on the liberty of prophesying; (5) that is, a tract on the liberty of the pulpit.

The party thus persecuted were the most efficient opponents of Popery. "The Puritans," said Burleigh, "are over squeamish and nice, yet their careful catechising and diligent preaching lessen and diminish the Papistical numbers." (6) But for the Puritans, the old religion would have retained the affections of the multitude. If Elizabeth reformed the court,—the ministers, whom she persecuted,

(1) Neal's Puritans, i. 396.

(2) Hallam's England, i. 270.

(3) Strype's Annals, iii. 180. Hallam's England, i. 271—273. Rymer, xvi. 291—297, June 15, 1596, and 546—551, August 26, 1603. Mackintosh, iii. 261, 262. Lingard, vii. 266.

(4) Burleigh, in Strype's Whitgift, 157.

(5) Strype's Annals, iii. 186. Fuller's Church History, b. ix. 169.

(6) Somer's Tracts, fourth collection, i. 103.

reformed the commons. That the English people became Protestant, is due to the Puritans. How, then, could the party be subdued? The spirit of brave and conscientious men cannot be broken. No part is left but to tolerate or destroy. Extermination could alone produce conformity.

In a few years, it was said in parliament, that there
^{1593.} were in England twenty thousand of those who frequented conventicles.(1) It was proposed to banish them, as the Moors had been banished from Spain, and as the Huguenots were afterwards driven from France. This measure was not adopted; but a law of savage ferocity, ordering those, who, for a month, should be absent from the English service, to be interrogated as to their belief, menaced the obstinate non-conformists with exile or with death.(2)

Holland offered an asylum against the bitter severity of this statute. A religious society, founded by the Independents at Amsterdam, continued to exist for a century, and served as a point of hope for the exiles; while, through the influence of Whitgift, in England, Barrow and Greenwood, men of unimpeached loyalty, were selected as examples, and hanged at Tyburn for their opinions.(3)

The queen repented that she had sanctioned the execution. Her age, and the prospect of favour to Puritanism from her successor, conspired to check the spirit of persecution. The leaders of the church became more prudent, and by degrees bitterness subsided. The Independents had, it is true, been nearly exterminated: but the number of the non-conforming clergy, after forty years of molestation, had increased; their popularity was more deeply rooted, and their enmity to the established order was irreconcileable. Their followers already constituted a powerful political party; inquired into the nature of government, in parliament opposed monopolies, limited the royal prerogatives, and demanded a reform of ecclesiastical abuses. "The precious spark of liberty," says an historian who was never accused of favouring the Puritans, "had been kindled and was preserved by the Puritans alone."

(1) D'Ewes's Jour. 517. Strype's Whitgift, 417. Neal's Puritans, i. 516.

(2) 35 Eliz. c. i. Stat. iv. 841—843. Parl. Hist. 863. Neal's Puritans, i. 513—515. Neal's New England, i. 60.

(3) Strype's Whitgift, 414, &c. Neal's Puritans, i. 526, 527. Roger Williams's Truth and Peace, 237.

Popular liberty, which used to animate its friends by appeals to the examples of ancient republics, now listened to a voice from the grave of Wickliffe, from the ashes of Huss, from the vigils of Calvin. Victorious over her foreign enemies, Elizabeth never could crush the religious sect, of which the increase seemed dangerous to the state. Her career was full of glory abroad; it was unsuccessful against the progress of opinion at home. In the latter years of her reign, her popularity declined; and her death was the occasion of little regret. "In four days she was forgotten."⁽¹⁾ The multitude, fond of change, welcomed her successor with shouts; but when the character of that successor was better known, they persuaded themselves that they had revered Elizabeth to the last, and that her death had been honoured by inconsolable grief.

The accession of King James would, it was believed, introduce a milder system; and the Puritans might hope even for favour. But the personal character of the new monarch could not inspire confidence.

The pupil of Buchanan was not destitute of learning, nor unskilled in rhetoric. Protected from profligate debauchery by the austerity of public morals in Scotland, and incapable of acting the part of a statesman, he had aimed at the reputation of a "most learned clerk," and had been so successful, that Bacon,⁽²⁾ with equivocal flattery, pronounced him incomparable for learning among kings; and Sully, who knew him well, esteemed him the wisest fool in Europe.—The man of letters, who possesses wealth without the capacity for active virtue, often learns to indulge in the vacancy of contemplative enjoyments, and, slumbering on his post, abandons himself to pleasant dreams. This is the euthanasia of his honour. The reputation of King James was lost more ignobly. At the mature age of thirty six he ascended the throne of England; and, for the first time acquiring the opportunity of displaying the worthlessness of his character, he exulted in the freedom of self-indulgence,—in idleness and gluttony. The French ambassador despised him for his frivolous amusements;⁽³⁾ gross licentiousness in his vicinity was unreproved; and the manners of the palace became so

(1) Carte's England, iii. 707.

(2) Bacon's Works, iv. 436.

(3) Lingard's England, ix. 107.

coarsely profligate, that even the women of his court reeled in his presence in a state of disgusting ineptiety.(1)

The life of James, as a monarch, was full of meannesses. Personal beauty became the qualification of a minister of state. The interests of England were sacrificed, that his son might marry the daughter of a powerful king. His passions were as feeble as his will. His egregious vanity desired perpetual flattery ; and no hyperboles excited his distrust. He boasted that England, even in the days of Elizabeth, had been governed by his influence : by proclamation, he forbade the people to talk of state affairs ;(2) and in reply to the complaints of his commons, he insisted that he was and would be the father of their country.(3)

Dissimulation is the vice of those who have neither true judgment nor courage. King James, from his imbecility, was false ; and sometimes vindicated his falsehood, as though deception and cunning had been worthy of a king. But he was an awkward liar, rather than a crafty dissembler.(4) He could, before parliament, call God to witness his sincerity, when he was already resolved on being insincere. His cowardice was such, that he feigned a fondness for Carr, whose arrest for murder he had secretly ordered. He was afraid of his wife ; could be governed by being overawed ; and was easily intimidated by the vulgar insolence of Buckingham.(5) In Scotland, he solemnly declared his attachment(6) to the Puritan discipline and doctrines ; but it was from his fear of open resistance. The pusillanimous man assents from cowardice, and recovers boldness with the assurance of impunity.

Demonology was a favourite topic with King James. He demonstrated with erudition the reality of witchcraft ; through his solicitation it was made, by statute, a capital offence ; he could tell “ why the devil doth work more with auncient women than with others ; ” and hardly a year of his reign went by, but some helpless crone perished on the gallows, to satisfy the vanity and confirm the dialectics of the royal author.

(1) Harrington's *Nugae Antiquae*, i. 348—350.

(2) Rapin's *England*, ii. 202. Sully's *Memoirs*, l. xv.

(3) Cobbett's *Parl. Hist.* v. i. p. 1504.

(4) Hallam's *England*, i. 404.

(5) Clarendon's *Rebellion*, i. 16. Hume, c. xlix.

(6) Calderwood's *Church of Scotland*, 286.

King James was sincerely attached to Protestantism.(1) He prided himself on his skill in theological learning, and challenged the praise of Europe as a subtle controversialist. With the whole force of English diplomacy, he suggested the propriety of burning an Arminian professor of Holland,(2) while he, at the same time, refuted the errors of the heretic in a harmless tract. He indulged his vanity in a public discussion ; and, when the argument was over, procured himself the gratification of burning his opponent at the stake.(3) His mind had been early and deeply imbued with the doctrines of Calvanism ; but he loved arbitrary power better than the tenets of Knox ; and, when the Arminians in England favoured royalty, King James became an Arminian. He steadily adhered to his love of flattery and his love of ease ; but he had no fixed principles of conduct or belief.

Such was the King of England, at a period when the limits of royal authority were not as yet clearly defined. Such was the man to whose decision the Puritans must refer the consideration of their claims. Would he be faithful to the principles in which he had been educated ? He had called the church of Scotland "the sincerest kirk of the world ;" he had censured the service of England as "an evil-said mass."(4) Would he retain for Puritans the favour which he had promised ?

There were not wanting statesmen whose more profound philosophy favoured a liberal toleration, Lord Bacon, in whose vigorous mind the truths of political wisdom had been sown by Burleigh in deep furrows, cherished the established worship, and yet advised concessions,(5) regarding the church as the eye of England, in which there might yet be a blemish. The divisions in religion seemed to him a less evil than the violent measures of prevention. The wound, said he, is not dangerous, unless we poison it with our remedies.—The wrongs of the Puritans may hardly be dissembled or excused. — The silencing of ministers, for the sake of enforcing the ceremonies, is, in

(1) Bentivoglio, *Relazione di Fiandra*, parte ii. c. iii. Op. Storiche, i. 206, 207.

(2) Winwood's *Memorials*, iii. 290, 293, 295, 298, 316, 339, 357, and other places. Rapin's *England*, ii. 179, 180.

(3) Lingard's *England*, ix. 217, 218. Prince, 127.

(4) Calderwood, 286, year 1590.

(5) Bacon's *Works*, ii. 541. Hume, in Appendix to *James I. and Grahame*, i. 253, charge Bacon with intolerance : as I think, most unjustly.

this scarcity of good preachers, a punishment that lighteth upon the people.—The bishops should keep one eye open, to look upon the good that those men do.—On subjects of religion, he says of himself, he was always for moderate counsels.(1) Nor did he fear inquiry; for he esteemed controversy “the wind by which truth is winnowed.”

But what relation could subsist between such philosophy and the selfish arrogance of King James? The tolerant views of Bacon were disregarded in his own time; like L'Hopital and Grotius, he scattered the seeds of truth, which were not to ripen till a late generation. The English hierarchy had feared, in the new monarch, the approach of a “Scottish mist;” but apprehension was soon dispelled.(2) The borders of Scotland were hardly passed before James began to identify the interests of the English church with those of his prerogative. “No bishop, no king” was a maxim often in his mouth. Whitgift was aware that the Puritans were too numerous to be borne down; “I have not been greatly quiet in mind,” said the disappointed archbishop, “the vipers are so many.” But James was not as yet fully conscious of their strength. While he was in his progress to London, more than seven hundred of them presented the “millenary petition” for a redress of ecclesiastical grievances.(3) He was never disposed to favour the Puritans; but a decent respect for the party to which he had belonged, joined to a desire of displaying his talents for theological debate, induced him to appoint a conference at Hampton Court.

The conference was distinguished on the part of 1604. the king by a strenuous vindication of the church of England. Refusing to discuss the question of the power of the church in things indifferent, he substituted authority for argument, and where he could not produce conviction, demanded obedience. “I will have none of that liberty as to ceremonies; I will have one doctrine, one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony.

(1) Bacon, *Of Church Controversies. Of the Pacification of the Church*, first published in 1604. *Apothegms. Works*, ii. 516, 541, 517, 462.

(2) *Neal's Puritans*, ii. 30.

(3) *Hume's England*, c. xlvi. *Neal's Puritans*, ii. 31, 32.

Never speak more to that point, how far you are bound to obey.”⁽¹⁾

The Puritans desired permission occasionally to assemble, and at their meetings to have the liberty of free discussions; but the king, prompt to discover that concessions in religion would be followed by greater political liberty, interrupted the petition:—“ You are aiming at a Scot’s presbytery, which agrees with monarchy as well as God and the devil. Then Jack, and Tom, and Will, and Dick, shall meet, and at their pleasures censure me and my council and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, It must be thus; then Dick shall reply and say, Nay, marry, but we will have it thus; and therefore, here I must once more reiterate my former speech, and say, *Le roi s’avisera*; the king alone shall decide.”⁽²⁾ Turning to the bishops, he avowed his belief, that the hierarchy was the firmest support of the throne. Of the Puritans he added—“ I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of the land, or else worse,”⁽³⁾ “only hang them; that’s all.” This closed the day’s debate.

On the last day of the conference, the king defended the necessity of subscription, concluding that, “if any would not be quiet and show their obedience, they were worthy to be hanged.” The high commission and the use of inquisitorial oaths equally found in him an advocate. He argued for despotic authority and its instruments.⁽⁴⁾ A few alterations in the book of common prayer were the only reforms which the conference effected. It was agreed that a time should be set, within which all should conform; if any refused to yield before it expired, they were to be removed.⁽⁵⁾ The king had insulted the Puritans with vulgar rudeness and indecorous jests;⁽⁶⁾ but his self-complacency was satisfied. He had talked much Latin;⁽⁷⁾ he had spoken a part of the time in the presence of the nobility of Scotland and England, willing admirers of his skill in debate and of his marvellous learning; and he

(1) Barlow’s Sum and Substance of the Conf. at Hampton Court, 71. I chiefly follow this account, which I find in the New England Library of Prince, though more favourable to the king and bishops than they deserved. Hallam, i. 404. See *Nugae Antiquae*, i. 180, 181, 182, for an account more disgraceful to James. Yet Harrington was a friend to the church.

(2) Barlow, 79. Neal’s Puritans, ii. 43, 44. Lingard, ix. 30. Hume, c. xlvi.

(3) Barlow, 83.

(4) Ibid. 90—92.

(5) Ibid, 101.

(6) Neal’s Puritans, ii. 45.

(7) *Nugae Antiquae*, i. 181. Montague, in *Winwood*, iii. 13—16.

was elated by the eulogies of the churchmen, who paid full tribute to the vanity of their royal champion. "Your majesty speaks by the special assistance of God's spirit," said the aged Whitgift. Bishop Bancroft, on his knees, exclaimed, that his heart melted for joy, "because God had given England such a king as, since Christ's time, has not been;"(1) and, in a foolish letter, James boasted that "he had soundly peppered off the Puritans."(2)

Whitgift, the archbishop, a man of great consistency of character, estimable for his learning, respected and beloved by his party, did not long survive the conference. He earnestly desired not to live till the next parliament should assemble, for the Puritans would have the majority; and grief,(3) it is thought, hastened his death, six weeks after the close of the conference, and only eleven months after the death of Elizabeth.

In the parliament, which soon assembled, the party opposed to the church asserted their liberties with such tenacity and vigour, that King James began to hate them as imbibing royalty itself. "I had rather live like a hermit in the forest," he writes, "than be a king over such a people as the pack of Puritans are, that overrules the lower house."(4) At the opening of the session, he had in vain pursued the policy of attempting a union between the old religion and the English church, and had offered "to meet the Catholics in the mid-way," while he had added, that "the sect of Puritans is insufferable in any well-governed commonwealth."(5) It was equally in vain, that, at the next session of parliament, he expressed 1605. himself with more vindictive decision; declaring the Roman Catholics to be faithful subjects, but expressing detestation of the Puritans, as worthy of fire for their opinions.(6) The commons of England resolutely favoured the sect which was their natural ally in the struggle against despotism.

Far different was the spirit which actuated the convocation of the clergy. They were very ready to decree against obstinate Puritans, excommunication, and all its

(1) Barlow, 93, 94. Lingard, ix. 32. Neal's Puritans, ii. 45.

(2) Strype's Whitgift, App. 239. (3) Fuller's Chh. Hist. b. x. 25.

(4) Hallam, i. 408—420, especially the letter at 419. Note.

(5) Neal's Puritans, ii. 51, 52. Rapin, ii. 165, 166.

(6) Prince, 111. Neal, ii. 52.

consequences.(1) Bancroft, the successor of Whitgift,
 1604. required(2) conformity with unrelenting rigour; King James issued a proclamation (3) of equal severity ; and it is asserted,(4) perhaps with considerable exaggeration, yet by those who had opportunities of judging 1605. rightly, that, in the year 1604 alone, three hundred Puritan ministers were silenced, imprisoned, or exiled. But the oppressed party was neither intimidated nor weakened ; the moderate men, who assented to external ceremonies as to things indifferent, were unwilling to enforce them by merciless cruelty ; and they resisted not the square cap and the surplice, but the compulsory imposition of them. Yet the clergy proceeded with a consistent disregard of the national liberties. The importation of foreign books was impeded ; and a severe censorship of the press was exercised by the bishops. Frivolous acts were denounced as ecclesiastical offences. A later 1606. convocation, in a series of canons,(5) denied every doctrine of popular rights, asserting the superiority of the king to the parliament and the laws, and admitting, in their zeal for absolute monarchy, no exception to the duty of passive obedience. Thus the opponents of the church became the sole guardians of popular liberty ; the lines of the contending parties were distinctly drawn ; the established church and the monarch, on the one side, were arrayed against the Puritan clergy and the people. A war of opinion began ; immediate success was obtained by the established authority ; but the contest would be transmitted to the next generation. Would victory ultimately belong to the Churchmen or to the Puritans ? to the monarch or to the people ? The interests of human freedom were at issue on the contest.

Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, "a poor people" in the north of England, in towns and villages of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, and the borders of Yorkshire, "became enlightened by the word of God ;" and, as "presently they were both scoffed and scorned by the profane multitude, and their ministers urged with the

(1) Constitution and Canons Ecclesiastical ; Neal, ii. 57—60. Prince, 107, 108.

(2) Bancroft, in Neal, ii. 67.

(3) Prince, 109. See the Canons.

(4) Calderwood, in Neal's N. E. i. 73. Compare a note in Neal's Puritans, ii. 64.

(5) Bishop Overall's Convocation Book (not printed till 1690).

yoke of subscription," they, by the increase of troubles, were led "to see further," that not only "the beggarly ceremonies were monuments of idolatry," but also "that the lordly power of the prelates ought not to be submitted to." Many of them, therefore, "whose hearts the Lord had touched with heavenly zeal for his truth," resolved, "whatever it might cost them, to shake off the anti-Christian bondage, and, as the Lord's free people, to join themselves by a covenant into a church estate in the fellowship of the gospel." Of the same faith with Calvin, heedless of acts of parliament, they rejected "the offices and callings, the courts and canons," of bishops, and, renouncing all obedience to human authority, asserted for themselves an unlimited and never-ending right to make advances in truth, and "to walk in all the ways which God had made known or should make known to them."

The reformed church, having for its pastor John Robinson, "a man not easily to be paralleled," were "beset and watched night and day by the agents of prelacy. For about a year, they kept their meetings every Sabbath, in one place or another, exercising the worship of God among themselves, notwithstanding all the diligence and malice

^{1607.} of their adversaries." But, as the humane ever decline to enforce the laws dictated by bigotry, the office devolves on the fanatic or the savage. Hence the severity of their execution usually surpasses the intention of their authors; and the peaceful members of "the poor, persecuted flock of Christ," despairing of rest in England, resolved to seek safety in exile.

Holland, in its controversy with Spain, had displayed republican virtues, and, in the reformation of its churches, had imitated the discipline of Calvin. England had been its ally in its greatest dangers; the States, at one time, had almost become a part of the English dominions: the "cautionary" towns were still garrisoned by English regiments, some of which were friendly to the separatists; and William Brewster, afterwards ruling elder of the church, had himself served as a diplomatist in the Low Countries. Thus the emigrants were attracted to Holland, "where, they heard, was freedom of religion for all men."

The departure from England was effected with much suffering and hazard. The first attempt was prevented; but the magistrates checked the ferocity of the subordi-

nate officers ; and, after a month's arrest of the whole company, seven only of the principal men were detained a little longer in prison.

The next spring, the design was renewed. As if 1608. it had been a crime to escape from persecution, an unfrequented heath in Lincolnshire, near the mouth of the Humber, was the place of secret meeting. Just as a boat was bearing a part of the emigrants to their ship, a company of horsemen appeared in pursuit, and seized on the helpless women and children who had not yet adventured on the surf. "Pitiful it was to see the heavy case of these poor women in distress; what weeping and crying on every side." But when they were apprehended, it seemed impossible to punish and imprison wives and children for no other crime than that they would go with their husbands and fathers. They could not be sent home, for "they had no homes to go to;" so that, at last, the magistrates were "glad to be rid of them on any terms," "though, in the meantime, they, poor souls, endured misery enough." Such was the flight of Robinson and Brewster, and their followers, from the land of their fathers.

Their arrival in Amsterdam was but the beginning of their wanderings. "They knew they were PILGRIMS, and looked not much on those things, but lifted up their eyes to heaven, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits." Soon removing to Leyden, "they saw 1609. poverty coming on them like an armed man;" but, being "careful to keep their word, and painful and diligent in their callings," they attained "a comfortable condition, grew in the gifts and grace of the Spirit of God, and lived together in peace and love and holiness." "Never," said the magistrates of the city, "never did we have any suit or accusation against any of them;" and, but for fear of offending King James, they would have met with public favour. "Many came there from different parts of England, so as they grew a great congregation." "Such was the humble zeal and fervent love of this people towards God and his ways, and their single-heartedness and sincere affection one towards another," that they seemed to come surpassingly near "the primitive pattern of the first churches." A clear and well-written apology of their discipline was published by Robinson, who also, in the controversy on free-will, as the champion of ortho-

doxy, "began to be terrible to the Arminians," and disputed in the university with such power, that, as his friends assert, "the truth had a famous victory."

^{1617.} The career of maritime discovery had, meantime, been pursued with daring intrepidity, and rewarded with brilliant success. The voyages of Gosnold, and Smith, and Hudson; the enterprise of Raleigh, and Delaware, and Gorges; the compilations of Eden, and Willes, and Hakluyt,—had filled the commercial world with wonder; Calvinists of the French Church had already sought, though vainly, to plant themselves in Brazil, in Carolina, and, with De Monts, in Acadia; while weighty reasons, often and seriously discussed, inclined the Pilgrims to change their abode. They had been bred to the pursuits of husbandry, and in Holland they were compelled to learn mechanical trades; Brewster became a printer; Bradford, who had been educated as a farmer, learned the art of dyeing silk. The language of the Dutch never became pleasantly familiar, and their manners still less so. They lived but as men in exile. Many of their English friends would not come to them, or departed from them weeping. "Their continual labours, with other crosses and sorrows, left them in danger to scatter or sink." "Their children, sharing their parents' burdens, bowed under the weight, and were becoming decrepit in early youth." Conscious of ability to act a higher part in the great drama of humanity, they were moved by "a hope and inward zeal of advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in the remote parts of the New World; yea, though they should be but as stepping-stones unto others for performing so great a work."

"Upon their talk of removing, sundry of the Dutch would have them go under them, and made them large offers;" but the Pilgrims were attached to their nationality as Englishmen, and to the language of their line. A secret but deeply-seated love of their country led them to the generous purpose of recovering the protection of England by enlarging her dominions. They were "restless" with the desire to live once more under the government of their native land.

And whither should they go to acquire a province for King James? The beautiful fertility and immeasurable wealth of Guiana had been painted in dazzling colours by the brilliant eloquence of Raleigh; but the terrors of the

tropical climate, the wavering pretensions of England to the soil, and the proximity of bigotted Catholics, led them rather to look towards "the most northern parts of Virginia," hoping, under the general government of that province, "to live in a distinct body by themselves." To obtain the consent of the London company, John Carver, with Robert Cushman, repaired to England. They "found God going along with them;" and, through the influence of "Sir Edwin Sandys, a religious gentleman then living," a patent might at once have been taken, had not the envoys desired first to consult "the multitude" at Leyden. In December, 1617, the Pilgrims transmitted their request, signed by the hands of the greatest part of the congregation. "We are well weaned," added Robinson and Brewster, "from the delicate milk of our mother country, and inured to the difficulties of a strange land; the people are industrious and frugal. We are knit together as a body in a most sacred covenant of the Lord, of the violation whereof we make great conscience, and by virtue whereof we hold ourselves straitly tied to all care of each other's good, and of the whole. It is not with us as with men whom small things can discourage."

The messengers of the Pilgrims, confiding in the 1618. Virginia company, petitioned the king for liberty of religion, to be confirmed under the king's broad seal. "Who shall make your ministers?" it was asked of them; and they answered, "The power of making them is in the church;" ordination required no bishop; and their avowal of their principle threatened to spoil all. To advance the dominions of England King James esteemed "a good and honest motion; and fishing was an honest trade, the apostles' own calling;" yet he referred the suit to the prelates of Canterbury and London. Even while the negotiations were pending, a royal declaration constrained the Puritans of Lancashire to conform or leave the kingdom; and nothing more could be obtained for the wilds of America than an informal promise of neglect. On this the community relied, being advised not to entangle themselves with the bishops. "If there should afterwards be a purpose to wrong us,"—thus they communed with themselves,—"though we had a seal as broad as the house-floor, there would be means enough found to recall or reverse it."

The dissensions in the Virginia company occasioned

further delay. At last, in 1619, its members, in their open court, writes one of the Pilgrims, “demanded our ends of going ; which, being related, they said the thing was of God, and granted a large patent.” Being taken in the name of one who failed to accompany the expedition, the patent was never of the least service.

One more negotiation remained to be completed. The Pilgrims were not possessed of sufficient capital for the execution of their schemes. The confidence in wealth to be derived from fisheries had made American expeditions a subject of consideration with English merchants, and the agents from Leyden were able to form a partnership between their employers and men of business in London. The services of each emigrant were rated as a capital of ten pounds, and belonged to the company ; all profits were to be reserved till the end of seven years, when the whole amount, and all houses and land, gardens and fields, were to be divided among the shareholders according to their respective interests. The London merchant, who risked one hundred pounds, would receive, for his money tenfold more than the penniless labourer for his entire services. This arrangement threatened a seven years’ check to the pecuniary prosperity of the community ; yet, as it did not interfere with civil rights or religion, it did not intimidate the resolved.

And now the English at Leyden, trusting in God 1620. and in themselves, made ready for their departure. The ships which they had provided—the *Speedwell*, of sixty tons, the *Mayflower*, of one hundred and eighty tons—could hold but a minority of the congregation ; and Robinson was therefore detained at Leyden, while Brewster, the governing elder, who was also able as a teacher, conducted “such of the youngest and strongest as freely offered themselves.” Every enterprise of the Pilgrims began from God. A solemn fast was held. “Let us seek of God,” said they, “a right way for us, and for our little ones, and for all our substance.” Anticipating their high destiny, and the sublime doctrines of liberty that would grow out of the principles on which their religious tenets were established, Robinson gave them a farewell, breathing a freedom of opinion and an independence of authority, such as then were hardly known in the world.

“I charge you, before God and his blessed angels, that you follow me no further than you have seen me follow

the Lord Jesus Christ. The Lord has more truth yet to break forth out of his holy word. I cannot sufficiently bewail the condition of the reformed churches, who are come to a period in religion, and will go at present no further than the instruments of their reformation.—Luther and Calvin were great and shining lights in their times, yet they penetrated not into the whole counsel of God.—I beseech you, remember it,—'tis an article of your church covenant,—that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written word of God."

"When the ship was ready to carry us away," writes Edward Winslow, "the brethren that stayed at Leyden, having again solemnly sought the Lord with us and for us, feasted us that were to go at our pastor's house, being large, where we refreshed ourselves, after tears, with singing of psalms, making joyful melody in our hearts as well as with the voice, there being many of the congregation very expert in music; and indeed it was the sweetest melody that ever mine ears heard. After this they accompanied us to Delft-Haven, where we went to embark, and then feasted us again; and, after prayer performed by our pastor, when a flood of tears was poured out, they accompanied us to the ship, but were not able to speak one to another for the abundance of sorrow to part. But we only, going aboard, gave them a volley of small shot and three pieces of ordnance; and so, lifting up our hands to each other, and our hearts for each other to the Lord our God, we departed." A prosperous wind soon wafts the vessel to Southampton, and, in a fortnight, the *Mayflower* and the *Speedwell*, freighted with the first colony of New England, leave Southampton for America. But they had not gone far upon the Atlantic before the smaller vessel was found to need repairs, and they entered the port of Dartmouth. After the lapse of eight precious days they again weigh anchor; the coast of England recedes; already they are unfurling their sails upon the broad ocean, when the captain of the *Speedwell*, with his company, dismayed at the dangers of the enterprise, once more pretends that his ship is too weak for the service. They put back to Plymouth, "and agree to dismiss her, and those who are willing return to London, though this was very grievous and discouraging." Having thus winnowed their numbers, the little band, not of resolute men only, but wives, some

far gone in pregnancy, children, infants, a floating village, yet in all but one hundred souls, went on board the single ship, which was hired only to convey them across the Atlantic ; and, on the sixth day of September, 1620, thirteen years after the first colonization of Virginia, two months before the concession of the grand charter of Plymouth, without any warrant from the sovereign of England, without any useful charter from a corporate body, the passengers in the *Mayflower* set sail for a new world, where the past could offer no favourable auguries.

Had New England been colonized immediately on the discovery of the American continent, the old English institutions would have been planted under the powerful influence of the Roman Catholic religion ; had the settlement been made under Elizabeth, it would have been before activity of the popular mind in religion had conducted to a corresponding activity of mind in politics. The Pilgrims were Englishmen, Protestants, exiles for religion, men disciplined by misfortune, cultivated by opportunities of extensive observation, equal in rank as in rights, and bound by no code but that of religion or the public will.

The eastern coast of the United States abounds in beautiful and convenient harbours, in majestic bays and rivers. The first Virginia colony, sailing along the shores of North Carolina, was, by a favouring storm, driven into the magnificent Bay of the Chesapeake ; the Pilgrims, having selected for their settlement the country near the Hudson, the best position on the whole coast, were conducted to the most barren and inhospitable part of Massachusetts. After a long and boisterous voyage of sixty-three days, during which one person had died, they espied land, and, in two days more, were safely moored in the harbour of Cape Cod.

Yet, before they landed, the manner in which their government should be constituted was considered ; and, as some were observed "not well affected to unity and concord," they formed themselves into a body politic by a solemn voluntary compact :—

"In the name of God, amen ; we, whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread sovereign King James, having undertaken, for the glory of God, and advancement of the Christian faith, and honour of our king and country, a voyage to plant the first colony in the northern parts of Virginia, do, by these presents, solemnly

and mutually, in the presence of God, and one of another, covenant and combine ourselves together, into a civil body politic, for our better ordering and preservation, and furtherance of the ends aforesaid ; and by virtue hereof, to enact, constitute, and frame, such just and equal laws, ordinances, acts, constitutions, and offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most convenient for the general good of the colony. Unto which we promise all due submission and obedience."

This instrument was signed by the whole body of men, forty-one in number, who, with their families, constituted the one hundred, the whole colony, "the proper democracy," that arrived in New England. This was the birth of popular constitutional liberty. The middle age had been familiar with charters and constitutions ; but they had been merely compacts for immunities, partial enfranchisements, patents of nobility, concessions of municipal privileges, or limitations of the sovereign power in favour of feudal institutions. In the cabin of the *Mayflower* humanity recovered its rights, and instituted government on the basis of "equal laws" for "the general good." John Carver was immediately and unanimously chosen governor for the year.

Men who emigrate, even in well-inhabited districts, pray that their journey may not be in winter. Wasted by the rough and wearisome voyage, ill supplied with provisions, the English fugitives found themselves, at the opening of winter, on a barren and bleak coast, in a severe climate, with the ocean on one side and the wilderness on the other. There were none to show them kindness or bid them welcome. The nearest French settlement was at Port Royal ; it was five hundred miles to the English plantation at Virginia. As they attempted to disembark, the water was found so shallow that they were forced to wade ; and, in the freezing weather, the very act of getting on land sowed the seeds of consumption and inflammatory colds. The bitterness of mortal disease was their welcome to the inhospitable shore.

The season was already fast bringing winter, and the spot for the settlement remained to be chosen. The shallop was unshipped, and it was a real disaster to find that it needed repairs. The carpenter made slow work, so that sixteen or seventeen weary days elapsed before it was ready for service. But Standish and Bradford, and others,

impatient of the delay, determined to explore the country by land. "In regard to the danger," the expedition "was rather permitted than approved." Much hardship was endured; but what discoveries could be made in Truro and near the banks of Paomet Creek? The first expedition in the shallop was likewise unsuccessful: "some of the people that died that winter took the original of their death" in the enterprise; "for it snowed and did blow all the day and night, and froze withal." The men who were set on shore "were tired with marching up and down the steep hills and deep valleys, which lay half a foot thick with snow." A heap of maize was discovered; and further search led to a burial-place of the Indians; but they found "no more corn, nor any thing else but graves."

At length the shallop was again sent out, with Carver, Bradford, Winslow, Standish, and others, with eight or ten seamen. The cold was severe; the spray of the sea froze as it fell on them, and made their clothes like coats of iron. That day they reached Billingsgate Point, at the bottom of the Bay of Cape Cod, on the western shore of Wellfleet harbour. The next morning the company divided; those on shore find a burial-place, graves, and four or five deserted wigwams, but neither people, nor any place inviting a settlement. Before night the whole party met by the sea-side, and encamped on land together near Namskeket, or Great Meadow Creek.

The next day they rose at five; their morning prayers were finished, when, as the day dawned, a war-whoop and a flight of arrows announced an attack from Indians. They were of the tribe of the Nausites, who knew the English as kidnappers; but the encounter was without further result. Again the boat's crew give thanks to God, and steer their bark along the coast for the distance of fifteen leagues. But no convenient harbour is discovered. The pilot of the boat, who had been in these regions before, gives assurance of a good one, which may be reached before night; and they follow his guidance. After some hours' sailing, a storm of snow and rain begins; the sea swells; the rudder breaks; the boat must now be steered with oars; the storm increases; night is at hand; to reach the harbour before dark, as much sail as possible is borne; the mast breaks into three pieces; the sail falls overboard; but the tide is favourable. The pilot, in dismay, would have run the boat on shore in a

cove full of breakers. "About with her," exclaimed a sailor, "or we are cast away." They get her about immediately, and passing over the surf, they enter a fair sound, and shelter themselves under the lee of a small rise of land. It is dark, and the rain beats furiously; yet the men are so wet, and cold, and weak, they slight the danger to be apprehended from the savages, and after great difficulty kindle a fire on shore.

Morning, as it dawned, showed the place to be a small island within the entrance of a harbour. The day was required for rest and preparations. Time was precious; the season advancing; their companions were left in suspense. The next day was the "Christian Sabbath."

- than that they kept it sacredly, though every consideration demanded haste.

On Monday, the 11th day of December, old style, the exploring party of the forefathers land at Plymouth. A grateful posterity has marked the rock which first received their footsteps. The consequences of that day are constantly unfolding themselves as time advances. It was the origin of New England; it was the planting of the New England institutions. Inquisitive historians have loved to mark every vestige of the Pilgrims; poets of the purest minds have commemorated their virtues; the noblest genius has been called into exercise to display their merits worthily, and to trace the consequences of their daring enterprise.

The spot, when examined, seemed to invite a settlement; and in a few days the *Mayflower* was safely moored in its harbour. In memory of the hospitalities which the company had received at the last English port from which they had sailed, this oldest New England colony obtained the name of Plymouth. The system of civil government had been established by common agreement; the character of the church had for many years been fixed by a sacred covenant. As the Pilgrims landed, their institutions were already perfected. Democratic liberty and independent Christian worship at once existed in America.

After some days they began to build—a difficult task for men of whom one-half were wasting away with consumptions and lung-fevers. For the sake of haste, it was agreed that every man should build his own house; but frost and foul weather were great hindrances; they

could seldom work half of the week ; and tenements were erected as they could be, in short intervals of sunshine between showers of sleet and snow-storms.

On the 3rd of March a south wind brought warm and fair weather. "The birds sang in the woods most pleasantly." But it was not till spring had far advanced that the mortality began to cease. It was afterwards remarked, with modest gratitude, that, of the survivors, very many lived to an extreme old age. A shelter, not less than comfort, had been wanting ; the living had been scarce able to bury the dead ; the well not sufficient to take care of the sick. At the season of greatest distress there were but seven able to render assistance. The benevolent Carver had been appointed governor ; at his first landing he had lost a son ; soon after the departure of the *Mayflower* for England, his health sunk under a sudden attack ; and his wife, broken-hearted, followed him in death. William Bradford, the historian of the colony, was soon chosen his successor. The record of misery was kept by the graves of the governor and half the company.

But if sickness ceased to prevail, the hardships of privation and want remained to be encountered. In the 1621- autumn an arrival of new emigrants, who came un-1622. provided with food, compelled the whole colony, for six months in succession, to subsist on half allowance only. "I have seen men," says Winslow, "stagger by reason of faintness for want of food." They were once saved from famishing by the benevolence of fishermen off the coast. Sometimes they suffered from oppressive exactions on the part of ships, that sold them provisions at the most exorbitant prices. Nor did their miseries soon terminate. Even in the third year of the settlement, their victuals were so entirely spent, that "they knew not at night where to have a bit in the morning." Tradition declares, that, at one time, the colonists were reduced to 1623. a pint of corn, which, being parched and distributed, gave to each individual only five kernels ; but rumour falls short of reality ; for three or four months together they had no corn whatever. When a few of their old friends arrived to join them, a lobster, or a piece of fish, without bread or anything else but a cup of fair spring 1624. water, was the best dish which the hospitality of the whole colony could offer. Neat cattle were not introduced till the fourth year of the settlement. Yet,

during all this season of self-denial and suffering, the cheerful confidence of the Pilgrims in the mercies of Providence remained unshaken.

The system of common property had occasioned grievous discontents; the influence of law could not compel regular labour like the uniform impulse of personal interest; and even the threat of "keeping back their bread" could not change the character of the idle. After the harvest of 1623 there was no general want of food; in the spring of that year it had been agreed that each family should plant for itself, and parcels of land in proportion to the respective numbers were assigned for culture, though not for inheritance. This arrangement produced contented labour and universal industry; "even women and children now went into the field to work." The next spring every person obtained a little land in perpetual fee. The necessity of the case, and the common interest, demanded a slight departure from the severe agreement with the English merchants. Before many harvests, so much corn was raised that it began to form a profitable article of commerce, and the Indians, preferring the chase to tillage, abandoned culture, and looked to the colonists for their supply. The intercourse between the Plymouth colony and the Indians soon assumed the character of commercial familiarity. The exchange of European manufactures for beaver and other skins, was almost the only pursuit which promised to be lucrative.

The spot to which Providence had directed the planters, had, a few years before, been rendered entirely a desert by a pestilence, which had likewise swept over the neighbouring tribes, and desolated almost the whole sea-board of New England. Where the Pilgrims landed, there were the traces of a previous population, but not one living inhabitant. Smokes from fires in the remote distance alone indicated the vicinity of natives. Miles Standish, "the best linguist" among the Pilgrims, as well as the best soldier, with an exploring party, was able to discover wigwams, but no tenants. Yet a body of Indians from abroad was soon discovered hovering near the settlement, though disappearing when pursued. The colony, therefore, assumed a military organization; and Standish, a man of the greatest courage, the devoted friend of the church, which he never joined, was appointed to the chief command. But dangers were not at hand.

One day, Samoset, an Indian who had learned a little English of the fishermen at Penobscot, boldly entered the town, and, passing to the rendezvous, exclaimed, in English, "Welcome, Englishmen." He belonged to the Wampanoags, a tribe which was destined to become memorable in the history of New England. In the name of his nation, he bade the strangers possess the soil, which there was no one of the original occupants alive to claim. After some little negotiation, in which an Indian, who had been carried away by Hunt, had learned English in England, and had, in an earlier expedition, returned to his native land, acted as interpreter, Massasoit himself, the sachem of the tribe possessing the country north of Narragansett Bay, and between the rivers of Providence and Taunton, came to visit the Pilgrims, who with their wives and children now amounted to no more than fifty. The chieftain of a race as yet so new to the Pilgrims, was received with all the ceremonies which the condition of the colony permitted. A treaty of friendship was soon completed in few and unequivocal terms. The parties promised to abstain from mutual injuries, and to deliver up offenders; the colonists were to receive assistance if attacked; to render it if Massasoit should be attacked unjustly. The treaty included the confederates of the sachem; it is the oldest act of diplomacy recorded in New England; it was concluded in a day, and being founded on reciprocal interests, was sacredly kept for more than half a century. Massasoit desired the alliance, for the powerful Narragansetts were his enemies; his tribe, moreover, having become habituated to some English luxuries, were willing to establish a traffic; while the emigrants obtained peace, security, and the opportunity of a lucrative commerce.

An embassy from the little colony to their new ally, performed, not with the pomp of modern missions, but through the forests and on foot, and received, not to the luxuries of courts, but to a share in the abstinence of savage life, confirmed the treaty of amity, and prepared the way for a trade in furs. The marks of devastation from a former plague were visible wherever the envoys went, and they witnessed the extreme poverty and feebleness of the natives.

The influence of the English over the aborigines was rapidly extended. A sachem who menaced their safety was himself compelled to sue for mercy; and nine chief-

tains subscribed an instrument of submission to King James. The Bay of Massachusetts and harbour of Boston were fearlessly explored. Canonicus, the wavering sachem of the Narragansetts, whose territory had escaped the ravages of the pestilence, had at first desired to treat of peace. A bundle of arrows, wrapped in the skin of a rattlesnake, was now the token of his hostility. But when Bradford stuffed the skin with powder and shot, and returned it, his courage quailed, and he desired to be in amity with a race of men whose weapons of war were so terrible. The hostile expedition which caused the first Indian blood to be shed, grew out of a quarrel, in which the inhabitants of Plymouth were involved by another colony.

For who will define the limits to the graspings of avarice? The opportunity of gain by the fur-trade had been envied by the planters of New Plymouth; and Weston, who had been active among the London adventurers in establishing the Plymouth colony, now desired to engross the profits which he already deemed secure.

A patent for land near Weymouth, the first plantation in Boston harbour, was easily obtained, and a company of sixty men were sent over. Helpless at their arrival, they intruded themselves for most of the summer upon the unrequited hospitality of the people of Plymouth. In their plantation they were soon reduced to necessity by their want of thrift; their injustice towards the Indians provoked hostility; and a plot was formed for the entire destruction of the English. But the grateful

Massasoit revealed the design to his allies, and the planters at Weymouth were saved by the wisdom of the older colony and the intrepid gallantry of Standish. It was "his capital exploit." Some of the rescued men went to Plymouth, some sailed for England. One short year saw the beginning and end of the Weymouth plantation. "Certainly the best works, and of greatest merit for the public," observes the childless Lord Bacon, with complacent self-love, "have proceeded from the unmarried or childless men." Weston's company, after having boasted of their strength as far superior to Plymouth, which was enfeebled, they said, by the presence of children and women, owed their deliverance to the colony that had many women, children, and weak ones with them.

The danger from Indian hostilities was early removed;

the partnership with English merchants occasioned greater inconvenience. Robinson and the rest of his church, at Leyden, were suffering from deferred hopes, and were longing to rejoin their brethren in America. The adventurers in England refused to provide them a passage, and attempted, with but short success, to force upon the colonists a clergyman more friendly to the established church; thus outraging at once the affections and the religious scruples of those whom they had pledged themselves to cherish. Divisions ensued; and the partners in England, offended by opposition, and discouraged at the small returns from their investments, deserted the interests of their associates in America. A ship was even despatched to rival them in their business; goods, which were sent for their supply, were sold to them at an advance of seventy per cent. The curse of usury, which always falls so heavily upon new settlements, did not spare them; for, being left without help from the partners, they were obliged to borrow money at fifty per cent. and at thirty per cent. interest. At last, the emigrants themselves succeeded in purchasing the entire rights of the English adventurers; the common property was equitably divided, and agriculture established immediately and completely on the basis of private possessions. For a six years' monopoly of the trade, eight of the most enterprising men assumed all the engagements of the colony; so that the cultivators of the soil became really free-holders; neither debts nor rent-day troubled them.

The colonists of Plymouth had exercised self-government without the sanction of a royal patent. Yet their claim to their lands was valid, according to the principles of English law, as well as natural justice. They had received a welcome from the aborigines; and the council of Plymouth, through the mediation of Sir Ferdinand Gorges,(1) immediately issued a patent to John Pierce for their benefit. But the trustee, growing desirous of becoming lord proprietary, and holding them as tenants, obtained a new charter, which would have caused much difficulty, had not his misfortunes compelled him to transfer his rights to the company.

When commerce extended to the Kennebec a patent for the adjacent territory was easily procured. The same year, Allerton was again sent to London to ne-

(1) Gorges' Description, 24. Briefe Narration, c. xxii.

gotiate an enlargement of both the grants ; and he gained from the council of Plymouth concessions equal to all his desires. But it was ever impossible to obtain a charter from the king ; so that, according to the principles adopted in England, the planters, with an unquestionable property in the soil, had no right to assume a separate jurisdiction. It was therefore in the virtues of the colonists themselves, that their institutions found a guaranty for stability. They never hesitated to punish small offences ; it was only after some scruples, that they inflicted capital punishment. Their doubts being once removed, they exercised the same authority as the charter governments. Death was, by subsequent laws, made the penalty for several crimes ; but was never inflicted except for murder. House-breaking and highway robbery were offences unknown in their courts, and too little apprehended to be made subjects of severe legislation.

The progress of population was very slow. The lands in the vicinity were not fertile ; and at the end of ten years the colony contained no more than three hundred souls. Few as were their numbers, they had struck deep root, and would have outlived every storm, even if they had been followed by no other colonies in New England. Hardly were they planted in America, when their enterprise began to take a wide range ; before Massachusetts was settled, they had acquired rights at Cape Ann, as well as an extensive domain on the Kennebec ; and they were the first to possess an English settlement on the banks of the Connecticut. The excellent Robinson died at Leyden, before the faction in England would permit his removal to Plymouth ; his heart was in America, where his memory will never die. The remainder of his people, and with them his wife and children, emigrated, so soon as means could be provided to defray the costs. "To enjoy religious liberty was the known end of the first comers' great adventure into this remote wilderness ; and they desired no increase, but from the friends of their communion. Yet their residence in Holland had made them acquainted with various forms of Christianity ; a wide experience had emancipated them from bigotry ; and they were never betrayed into the excesses of religious persecution, though they sometimes permitted a disproportion between punishment and crime.

The frame of civil government in the Old Colony was

of the utmost simplicity. A governor was chosen by general suffrage ; whose power, always subordinate to the general will, was, at the desire of Bradford, specially restricted by a council of five, and afterwards of seven assistants. In the council, the governor had but a double vote. For more than eighteen years, 1633. "the whole body of the male inhabitants" constituted the legislature ; the state was governed, like our towns, as a strict democracy ; and the people were frequently convened to decide on executive not less than on judicial questions. At length, the increase of population, 1639. and its diffusion over a wider territory, led to the introduction of the representative system, and each town sent its committee to the general court. "We shall subsequently find the colony a distinct member of the earliest American Confederacy ; but it is chiefly as guides and pioneers that the fathers of the Old Colony merit gratitude.

Through scenes of gloom and misery, the Pilgrims showed the way to an asylum for those who would go to the wilderness for the purity of religion or the liberty of conscience. Accustomed "in their native land to no more than a plain country life and the innocent trade of husbandry," they set the example of colonizing New England, and formed the mould for the civil and religious character of its institutions. Enduring every hardship themselves, they were the servants of posterity, the benefactors of succeeding generations. In the history of the world, many pages are devoted to commemorate the men who have besieged cities, subdued provinces, or overthrown empires. In the eye of reason and of truth a colony is a better offering than a victory ; the citizens of the United States should rather cherish the memory of those who founded a state on the basis of domococratic liberty ; the fathers of the country ; the men who, as they first trod the soil of the New World, scattered the seminal principles of republican freedom and national independence. They enjoyed, in anticipation, the thought of their extending influence, and the fame which their grateful successors would award to their virtues. "Out of small beginnings," said Bradford, "great things have been produced ; and as one small candle may light a thousand, so the light here kindled hath shone to many, yea, in some

sort to our whole nation."—"Let it not be grievous to you,"—such was the consolation offered from England to the Pilgrims in the season of their greatest sufferings,— " let it not be grievous to you, that you have been instruments to break the ice for others. The honour shall be yours to the world's end."

CHAPTER IX.

THE EXTENDED COLONIZATION OF NEW ENGLAND.

1620. THE council of Plymouth for New England, having obtained of King James the boundless territory and the immense monopoly which they had desired, had no further obstacles to encounter but the laws of nature and the remonstrances of parliament. No tributaries tenanted their countless millions of uncultivated acres; and exactions upon the vessels of English fishermen were the only means of acquiring an immediate revenue from America. But the spirit of the commons indignantly opposed the extravagant pretensions of the favoured company, and demanded for every subject of the English king the free liberty of engaging in a pursuit which was the chief source of wealth to the merchants of the west.

1621. "Shall the English," said Sir Edwin Sandys, the statesman so well entitled to the enduring gratitude of Virginia, "be debarred from the freedom of the fisheries, a privilege which the French and Dutch enjoy? It costs the kingdom nothing but labour; employs shipping; and furnishes the means of a lucrative commerce with Spain."—"The fishermen hinder the plantations," replied Calvert; "they choke the harbours with their ballast, and waste the forests by improvident use. America is not annexed to the realm, nor within the jurisdiction of parliament; you have therefore no right to interfere."

"We may make laws for Virginia," rejoined another member, intent on opposing the flagrant benevolence of the king, and wholly unconscious of asserting, in the earliest debate on American affairs, the claim of parliament to that absolute sovereignty which the colonies never acknowledged, and which led to the war of the revolution;

"a bill passed by the commons and the lords, if it receive the king's assent, will control the patent." The charter, argued Sir Edward Coke, with ample reference to early statutes, was granted without regard to previously-existing rights, and is therefore void by the established laws of England. So the friends of the liberty of fishing triumphed over the advocates of the royal prerogative, though the parliament was dissolved before a bill could be carried through all the forms of legislation.

Yet enough had been done to infuse vigour into mercantile enterprise; in the second year after the settlement of Plymouth, five-and-thirty sail of vessels went to 1622. fish on the coasts of New England, and made good voyages. The monopolists appealed to King James; and the monarch, preferring to assert his own extended prerogative, rather than to regard the spirit of the house of commons, issued a proclamation, which forbade any to approach the northern coast of America, except with the special leave of the company of Plymouth, or of the privy council. It was monstrous thus to attempt to seal up a large portion of an immense continent; it was impossible to carry the ordinance into effect; and here, as so often, despotism caused its own fall. By desiring strictly to enforce its will, it provoked a conflict in which it was sure of being defeated.

But the monopolists endeavoured to establish their claims. One Francis West was despatched with a commission as admiral of New England, for the purpose 1623. of excluding from the American seas such fishermen as came without a license. But his feeble authority was derided; the ocean was a wide place over which to keep sentry. The mariners refused to pay the tax which he imposed; and his ineffectual authority was soon resigned.

In England, the attempt occasioned the severest re- 1624. monstrances, which did not fail to make an impression on the ensuing parliament.

The patentees, alike prodigal of charters and tenacious of their monopoly, having given to Robert Gorges, the son of Sir Ferdinand, a patent for a tract extending 1622. ten miles on Massachusetts Bay, and thirty miles into the interior, now appointed him lieutenant-general of 1623. New England, with power "to restrain interlopers," not less than to regulate the affairs of the corporation. His patent was never permanently used; though

the colony at Weymouth was renewed, to meet once more with ill fortune. He was attended by Morrell, an Episcopal clergyman, who was provided with a commission for the superintendence of ecclesiastical affairs. Instead of establishing a hierarchy, Morrell, remaining in New England about a year, wrote a description of the country in verse ; while the civil dignity of Robert Gorges ended in a short-lived dispute with Weston. They came to plant a hierarchy and a general government, and they produced only a fruitless quarrel and a dull poem.

But when parliament was again convened, the controversy against the charter was once more renewed ; and the rights of liberty found an inflexible champion in the aged Sir Edward Coke, who now expiated the sins of his early ambition by devotion to the interests of the people. It was in vain that the patentees relinquished a part of their pretensions ; the commons resolved that English fishermen shall have fishing with all its incidents. "Your patent"—thus Gorges was addressed by Coke from the speaker's chair—"contains many particulars contrary to the laws and privileges of the subject ; it is a monopoly, and the ends of private gain are concealed under colour of planting a colony." "Shall none," observed the veteran lawyer in debate, "shall none visit the sea-coast for fishing ? This is to make a monopoly upon the seas, which wont to be free. If you alone are to pack and dry fish, you attempt a monopoly of the wind and the sun." It was in vain for Sir George Calvert to resist. The bill passed without amendment, though it never received the royal assent.(1)

The determined opposition of the house, though it could not move the king to overthrow the corporation, paralyzed its enterprise ; many of the patentees abandoned their interest ; so that the Plymouth company now did little except issue grants of domains ; and the cottages, which, within a few years, were sprinkled along the coast from Cape Cod to the Bay of Fundy, were the consequence of private adventure.

The territory between the River of Salem and the Kennebec became, in a great measure, the property of

(1) The original authorities,—Debates of the Commons, 1620-1, i. 258, 260, 261, 318, 319 ; Journal of Commons, in Chalmers, 100—102, and 103, 104 ; Sir F. Gorges' Narration ; Morrell, in i. Mass Hist. Coll. i. 125—139 ; Smith, in iii. Mass. Hist. Coll. iii. 25 ; Hazard, i. 151—155. Compare Prince, Morton, Hutchinson, Belknap, and Chalmers.

two enterprising individuals. We have seen that Martin
 1603. Pring was the discoverer of New Hampshire, and
 that John Smith of Virginia had examined and extolled the deep waters of the Piscataqua. Sir Ferdinand
 1614. Gorges, the most energetic member of the council of
 1620. Plymouth, always ready to encounter risks in the cause of colonizing America, had not allowed repeated ill success to chill his confidence and decision ; and now he found in John Mason, " who had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland, a man of action," like himself. It was not difficult for Mason, who had been
 1621. elected an associate and secretary of the council, to obtain a grant of the lands between Salem River and the farthest head of the Merrimac ; but he did no more with
 1622. his vast estate than give it a name. The passion for land increased ; and Gorges and Mason next took a patent for Laconia, the whole country between the sea, the St. Lawrence, the Merrimac, and the Kennebec ; a company of English merchants was formed ; and under its
 1623. auspices permanent plantations were established on the banks of the Piscataqua.(1) Portsmouth and Dover are among the oldest towns in New England. Splendid as were the anticipations of the proprietaries, and lavish as was their enthusiasm in liberal expenditures, the immediate progress of the plantations was inconsiderable, and, even as fishing stations, they do not seem to have prospered.

When the country on Massachusetts Bay was
 1628. granted to a company, of which the zeal and success were soon to overshadow all the efforts of proprietaries and merchants, it became expedient for Mason to
 1629. procure a new patent ; and he now received a fresh title(2) to the territory between the Merrimac and Piscataqua, in terms which, in some degree, interfered with the pretensions of his neighbours on the south. This was the patent for New Hampshire, and was pregnant with nothing so signally as suits at law. The country had been devastated by the mutual wars of the tribes, and the same wasting pestilence which left New Plymouth a desert ;

(1) Gorges' Narrative, c. xxiv. Hubbard, 614—616. Prince, 215. Adams's Annals of Portsmouth, 9, 10. Williamson's Maine, i. 222, and ff. Belknap's New Hampshire, c. i.—a truly valuable work, highly creditable to American literature.

(2) Hazard, i. 290—293.

no notice seems to have been taken of the rights of the natives ; nor did they now issue any deed of their lands ;⁽¹⁾ but the soil in the immediate vicinity of Dover, and afterwards of Portsmouth, was conveyed to the planters themselves, or to those at whose expense the settlement had been made.⁽²⁾ A favourable impulse was thus given to the little colonies ; and houses now began to be built on the "Strawberry Bank" of the Piscataqua. But the progress of the town was slow ; Josselyn⁽³⁾ described the whole coast as a mere wilderness, with here and there a few huts scattered by the sea-side ; and thirty years after its settlement, Portsmouth made only the moderate boast of containing "between fifty and sixty families."⁽⁴⁾

When the grand charter, which had established the council of Plymouth, was about to be revoked, Mason extended his pretensions to the Salem River, the southern boundary of his first territory, and obtained of the expiring corporation a corresponding patent. There is room to believe, that the king would, without scruple, have confirmed the grant,⁽⁵⁾ and conferred upon him the powers of government, as absolute lord and proprietary ; but the death of Mason cut off all the hopes which his family might have cherished of territorial aggrandizement and feudal supremacy. His widow in vain attempted to manage the colonial domains ; the costs exceeded the revenue ; the servants were ordered to provide for their own welfare ; the property of the great landed proprietor was divided among them for the payment of arrears ; and Mason's American estate was completely ruined. Neither king nor proprietary troubled the few inhabitants of New Hampshire ; they were left to take care of themselves—the best dependence for states, as well as for individuals.

The enterprise of Sir Ferdinand Gorges, though sustained by stronger expressions of royal favour, and continued with indefatigable perseverance, was not followed by much greater success. We have seen a colony established, though but for a single winter, on the shores which Pring had discovered, and Weymouth had been the first to explore. After the bays of New England

(1) Savage on Winthrop, i. 405, and ff.

(2) Adam's Portsmouth, 17—19. (3) Josselyn's Voyages, 20.

(4) Farmer's Belknap, 431.

(5) Farmer's Belknap, 431, and c. ii.

had been more carefully examined by the same daring adventurer who sketched the first map of the Chesapeake, the coast was regularly visited by fishermen and traders. A special account of the country was one of the fruits of Hakluyt's inquiries, and was published in the collections of Purchas. At Winter Harbour, near the mouth of Saco River, Englishmen, under Richard Vines, again encountered the severities of the inclement season; and not long afterwards, the mutineers of the crew of Roeraft lived from autumn till spring on Monhegan Island, where the colony of Popham had anchored, and the ships of John Smith had made their station during his visit to New England. The earliest settlers, intent only on their immediate objects, hardly aspired after glory; from the few memorials which they have left, it is not, perhaps, possible to ascertain the precise time when the rude shelters of the fishermen on the sea-coast began to be tenanted by permanent inmates, and the fishing stages of a summer to be transformed into regular establishments of trade.(1)

The first settlement was probably made "on the Maine," but a few miles from Monhegan, at the mouth of the Pemaquid. The first observers could not but admire the noble rivers and secure bays, which invited commerce, and gave the promise of future opulence; but if hamlets were soon planted near the mouths of the streams; if forts were erected to protect the merchant and the mariner,—agriculture received no encouragement; and so many causes combined to check the growth of the country, that, notwithstanding its natural advantages, nearly two centuries glided away, before the scattered settlements along the sea-side rose into a succession of busy marts, sustained and enriched by the thriving villages of a fertile interior.

The settlement at Piscataqua could not quiet the ambition of Gorges. As a Protestant and an Englishman,

(1) For the early history of Maine, the original authorities are in Purchas, vol. iv.; the Relation of the President and Council for New England; Josselyn's Voyages; and the Narration which Gorges himself composed in his old age. Materials may be found also in Sullivan's History; and far better in the elaborate and most minute work of Williamson. I have also derived advantage from Geo. Folsom's Saco and Biddeford, and W. Willis's Portland. Williamson, i. 227, describes Saco as a permanent settlement in 1623; I incline rather to the opinion of Willis and Folsom.

he was almost a bigot, both in patriotism and in religion. Unwilling to behold the Roman Catholic church and the French monarch obtain possession of the eastern coast of North America, his first act with reference to the territory of the present state of Maine was, to invite the Scottish nation to become the guardians of its frontier. Sir William Alexander, the ambitious writer of turgid rhyming tragedies, a man of influence with King James, and already filled with the desire of engaging in colonial adventure, seconded a design, which promised to establish his personal dignity and interest ; and he obtained, without difficulty, a patent for all the territory east of the 1621. River St. Croix, and south of the St. Lawrence.(1) The whole region, which had already been included in the French provinces of Acadia and New France, was designated in English geography by the name of Nova Scotia. Thus were the seeds of future wars scattered broadcast by the unreasonable pretensions of England ; for James now gave away lands, which, already and 1603. with a better title on the ground of discovery, had been granted by Henry IV. of France, and which had been immediately occupied by his subjects ; nor could it be supposed, that the reigning French monarch would esteem his rights to his rising colonies invalidated by a parchment under the Scottish seal, or prove himself so forgetful of honour, as to discontinue the protection of the emigrants who had planted themselves in America on the faith of the crown.(2)

Yet immediate attempts were made to effect a Scottish settlement. One ship, despatched for the purpose, did but come in sight of the shore, and then, declining 1622. the perilous glory of colonization, returned to the permanent fishing station on Newfoundland. The next 1623. spring, a second ship arrived ; but the two vessels in company hardly possessed courage to sail to and fro along the coast, and make a partial survey of the harbours and the adjacent lands. The formation of a colony was postponed ; and a brilliant eulogy of the soil, climate, and productions of Nova Scotia, was the only compensation for the delay.(3)

(1) The patent is in Hazard, v. i. p. 134—145 ; in Purchas, v. iv. p. 1871. See, also, Gorges' Narration, c. xxiv ; Laing's Scotland, iii. 477.

(2) Chalmers, 92.

(3) Purchas's Pilgrims, iv. 1872. Charlevoix, i. 274. De Laet. 62.

The marriage of Charles I. with Henrietta Maria promised between the rival claimants of the wilds of Acadia such friendly relations as would lead to a peaceful adjustment of jarring pretensions. Yet, even at that period, the claims of France were not recognized by England; and a new patent confirmed to Sir William Alexander all the prerogatives with which he had been lavishly invested,(1) with the right of creating an order of baronets. The sale of titles proved to the poet a lucrative traffic, and the project of a colony was abandoned.

The citizens of a republic are so accustomed to see the legislation and the destinies of their country controlled only by public opinion, as formed and expressed in masses, that they can hardly believe the extent in which the fortunes of European nations have, at least for a short season, been moulded by the caprices of individuals: how often the wounded vanity of a courtier, or an unsuccessful passion of a powerful minister, has changed the foreign relations of a kingdom! The feeble monarch of England, having twice abruptly dissolved parliament, and having vainly resorted to illegal modes of taxation, had forfeited the confidence of his people, and, while engaged in a war with Spain, was destitute of money and of credit. It was at such a moment, that the precipitate gallantry of the favourite Buckingham, eager to thwart the jealous Richelieu, to whom he was as far inferior in the qualities of a statesman, as he was superior in youth, manners, and personal beauty, hurried England into an unnecessary and disastrous conflict with France. The siege of Rochelle invited the presence of an English fleet; but the expedition was fatal to the honour and the objects of Buckingham.

Hostilities were no where successfully attempted, except in America. Port Royal fell easily into the hands of the English; the conquest was no more than the acquisition of a small trading station. It was a bolder design to attempt the reduction of Canada. Sir David Kirk and his two brothers, Louis and Thomas, were commissioned to ascend the St. Lawrence, and Quebec received a summons to surrender. The garrison, destitute alike of provisions and of military stores, had no hope but in the character of Champlain, its commander: his answer

(2) Hazard, i. 206, and ff. Biog. Brit. sub voce Alexander.

of proud defiance concealed his weakness ; and the intimidated assailants withdrew. But Richelieu sent no
 1629. seasonable supplies ; the garrison was reduced to extreme suffering and the verge of famine ; and when the squadron of Kirk re-appeared before the town, the English were welcomed as deliverers. Favourable terms were demanded and promised ; and Quebec capitulated. Thus did England, one hundred and thirty years before the enterprise of Wolfe, make the conquest of the capital of New France ; that is to say, she gained possession of a barren rock and a few wretched hovels, tenanted by a hundred miserable men, who were now but beggars for bread of their vanquishers. Yet the event might fairly be deemed of importance, as pregnant with consequences ; and the English admiral could not but admire the position of the fortress. Not a port in North America remained to the French ; from Long Island to the Pole, England was without a rival.(1)

But before the conquest of Canada was achieved, peace had been proclaimed between the contending states ; and an article in the treaty promised the restitution of all acquisitions made subsequent to April 14, 1629.(2) The possession of New France would have been too dearly purchased by the vileness of falsehood, and it was readily agreed to restore Quebec.(3) Perhaps an indifference to the issue prevailed in France ; but the pride of honour and of religion seconded the claims to territory ; and the
 1632. genius of Richelieu succeeded in obtaining the restitution, not of Canada only, but of Cape Breton and the undefined Acadia.(4) The event has been frequently deplored ; but misery ensued, because neither the boundaries of the rival nations were distinctly marked, nor the spirit of the compact honestly respected.

While the eastern provinces of America were thus recovered by the firmness and ability of the French minister,
 1628. very different causes delayed the colonization of Maine. Hardly had the little settlement, which claimed the distinction of being the oldest plantation on that

(1) Mémoires, in Hazard, i. 285—287. Charlevoix, i. 165, and ff. Compare, also, Haliburton's N. Scotia, i. 43, 46, &c.

(2) Rushworth, ii. 24.

(3) Hazard, i. 314, 315.

(4) Charlevoix, i. 176. Winthrop, i. 13. Hazard, i. 319, 320. Williamson, i. 246, 247. Dummer's Memorial, in iii. M. H. Coll. i. 232, is an *ex parte* statement, unworthy to be cited as of authority.

coast, gained a permanent existence, before a succession of patents distributed the whole territory from the Piscataqua to the Penobscot among various proprietors. The 1629- grants were couched in vague language, and were 1631. made in hasty succession, without deliberation on the part of the council of Plymouth, and without any firm purpose of establishing colonies on the part of those for whose benefit they were issued. The consequences were obvious. As the neighbourhood of the indefinite possessions of France foreboded the border feuds of a controverted jurisdiction, so the domestic disputes about land-titles and boundaries threatened perpetual lawsuits. At the same time, enterprise was wasted by its diffusion over too wide a surface. Every harbour along the sea was accessible ; groups of cabins were scattered at wide intervals, without any common point of attraction ; and the agents of such proprietaries as aimed at securing a revenue from colonial rents, were often, perhaps, faithless,—were always unsuccessful. How feeble were the attempts at planting towns, is evident from the nature of the tenure by which the lands near the Saco were held : the condition of the grant was the introduction of fifty settlers within seven years. Agriculture was hardly attempted. A district of forty 1630. miles square, named Lygonia, and stretching from Harpswell to the Kennebunk, was set apart for the first colony of farmers ; but when a vessel of sixty tons brought over the emigrants who were to introduce the plough into the regions on Casco Bay, the earlier resident adventurers treated their scheme with derision. The musket and the hook and line were more productive than the implements of husbandry ; the few members of the unsuccessful company remained but a single year in a neighbourhood where the culture of the soil was so little esteemed, and, embarking once more, sought a home among the rising settlements of Massachusetts. Except for the wealth to be derived from the forest and the sea, the coast of Maine would not at that time have been tenanted by Englishmen ; and this again was fatal to the expectations of the proprietaries, since firs might be gathered and fish taken without the payment of quit-rents or the purchase of lands.(1)

Yet a pride of character sustained in Gorges an un-

(1) Hubbard's Narrative, 204. Willis, 13, 17, &c. Folsom, 318, &c. Williamson, i. 237, and ff. Gorges, 48, 49.

bending hope, and he clung to the project of territorial aggrandizement. When Mason limited himself to the country west of the Piscataqua, and while Sir William Alexander obtained of the Plymouth company a patent for the eastern extremity of the United States, Gorges, alike undismayed by previous losses, and by the encroaching claims of the French, who had already advanced their actual boundary to the Penobscot, succeeded in soliciting the whole district that lies between the Kennebec and the boundary of New Hampshire. The earnestness of his designs is apparent from his appointment as governor-general of New England. If an unforeseen accident prevented his embarkation for America, and relieved Massachusetts of its apprehensions, he at least sent his nephew, William Gorges, to govern his territory. That officer repaired to the province without delay. Saco may have contained one hundred and fifty inhabitants, 1636. when the first court ever duly organized on the soil of Maine was held within its limits.(1) Before that time, there may have been some voluntary combinations among the settlers themselves, but there had existed on the Kennebec no jurisdiction of sufficient power to prevent or to punish bloodshed among the traders.(2) William Gorges remained in the country less than two years; the six Puritans of Massachusetts and Connecticut, who received a commission to act as his successors, declined the trust,(3) and the infant settlements then called New Somersetshire were abandoned to anarchy, or to so imperfect a government, that of the events of two years no records can be found.

Meantime a royal charter now constituted Gorges, 1639. in his old age, the lord proprietary of the country; and his ambition immediately soared to the honour of establishing boroughs, framing schemes of colonial government, and enacting a code of laws. The veteran royalist, clearly convinced of the necessity of a vigorous executive, had but dim conceptions of popular liberty and rights; and he busied himself in making such arrangements as might have been expected from an old soldier, who was never remarkable for sagacity, had never seen America, and who, now in his dotage, began

(1) Documents in Folsom, 49—52. Josselyn, 200.

(2) Hubbard, 167, 168. Winthrop.

(3) Winthrop. Hubbard, 261, 262. Williamson, i. 268.

to act as a lawgiver for a rising state in another hemisphere.(1)

Such was the condition of the settlements at the north, at the time when the region which lies but a little nearer the sun was already converted, by the energy of religious zeal, into a busy, well-organized, and even opulent state. The early history of Massachusetts is the history of a class of men as remarkable for their qualities and their influence on public happiness as any by which the human race has ever been diversified.

1624. The settlement near Weymouth was revived ; a
 1625. new plantation was begun near Mount Wollaston, within the present limits of Quincy ; and the merchants of the West continued their voyages to the islands of New England. But these things were of feeble influence compared with the consequences of the attempt at a per-

manent establishment near Cape Ann ; for White, a
 1624. minister of Dorchester, a Puritan, but not a Separatist, breathed into the enterprise a higher principle than that of the desire of gain. Roger Conant, having already left New Plymouth for Nantasket, through a brother in

1625. England, who was a friend of White, obtained the agency of the adventure. A year's experience proved to the company that their speculation must change its form, or it would produce no results : the merchants, therefore, paid with honest liberality all the persons whom they had employed, and abandoned the unprofitable scheme. But Conant, a man of extraordinary vigour,

"inspired as it were by some superior instinct," and confiding in the active friendship of White, succeeded in
 1626. breathing a portion of his sublime courage into his three companions ; and, making choice of Salem, as opening a convenient place of refuge for the exiles for religion, they resolved to remain as the sentinels of Puritanism on the Bay of Massachusetts.(1)

The design of a plantation was now ripening in the mind of White and his associates in the south-west of England.

1627. About the same time, some friends in Lincolnshire fell into discourse about New England ; imagination swelled with the thought of planting the pure gospel among the quiet shades of America ; it seemed better to

(1) Gorges, 50, and ff.

(2) Hubbard, 102, 106—108. Prince, 224, 229, 231, 235, 236. Cotton Mather, b. i. c. iv. s. 3.

depend on the benevolence of uncultivated nature and the care of Providence, than to endure the constraints of the English laws and the severities of the English hierarchy ; and who could doubt that, at the voice of undefiled religion, the wilderness would change to a paradise for a people who lived under a bond with the Omnipresent God ? After some deliberation, persons in London and the West Country were made acquainted with the design.(1)

1628. The council for New England, itself incapable of the generous purpose of planting colonies, was ever ready to make sale of patents, which had now become their only source of revenue. Little concerned even at making grants of territory which had already been purchased,(2) they sold to Sir Henry Roswell, Sir John Young, Thomas Southcoat, John Humphrey, John Endicott, and Simon Whetcomb, gentlemen of Dorchester,(3) a belt of land, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, extending three miles south of the river Charles and the Massachusetts Bay, and three miles north of every part of the river Merrimac.(4) The zeal of White sought and soon found other and powerful associates in and about London,(5)—kindred spirits, men of religious fervour, uniting the emotions of enthusiasm with unbending perseverance in action,—Winthrop, Dudley, Johnson, Pynchon, Eaton, Saltonstall, Bellingham, so famous in colonial annals, besides many others, men of fortune, and friends to colonial enterprise, who desired to establish a plantation of “the best” of their countrymen on the shores of New England, in a safe seclusion, which the corruptions of human superstition might never invade. Three of the original purchasers parted with all their rights ; Humphrey, Endicott, and Whetcomb, retained an equal interest with the new partners.(6)

The company, already possessing the firmness of religious zeal and the resources of mercantile opulence, and having now acquired a title to an extensive territory,

(1) Dudley to the countess of Lincoln, in i. Mass. Hist. Coll. viii. 37. The countess of Lincoln, to whom Dudley wrote, was “the approved Lady Briget,” daughter of Lord Say, the sister-in-law, and *not the mother*, of the Lady Arbella. Savage on Winthrop, i. 2. Walpole’s Royal and Noble Authors, ii. 272—275. The mother of Arbella was an authoress.

(2) Chalmers, 135.

(3) Hubbard, 108.

(4) Prince, 247. The charter repeats the boundaries.

(5) Hubbard, 109. Mather, i. c. iv. s. 3.

(6) Prince, 247. Col. Records.

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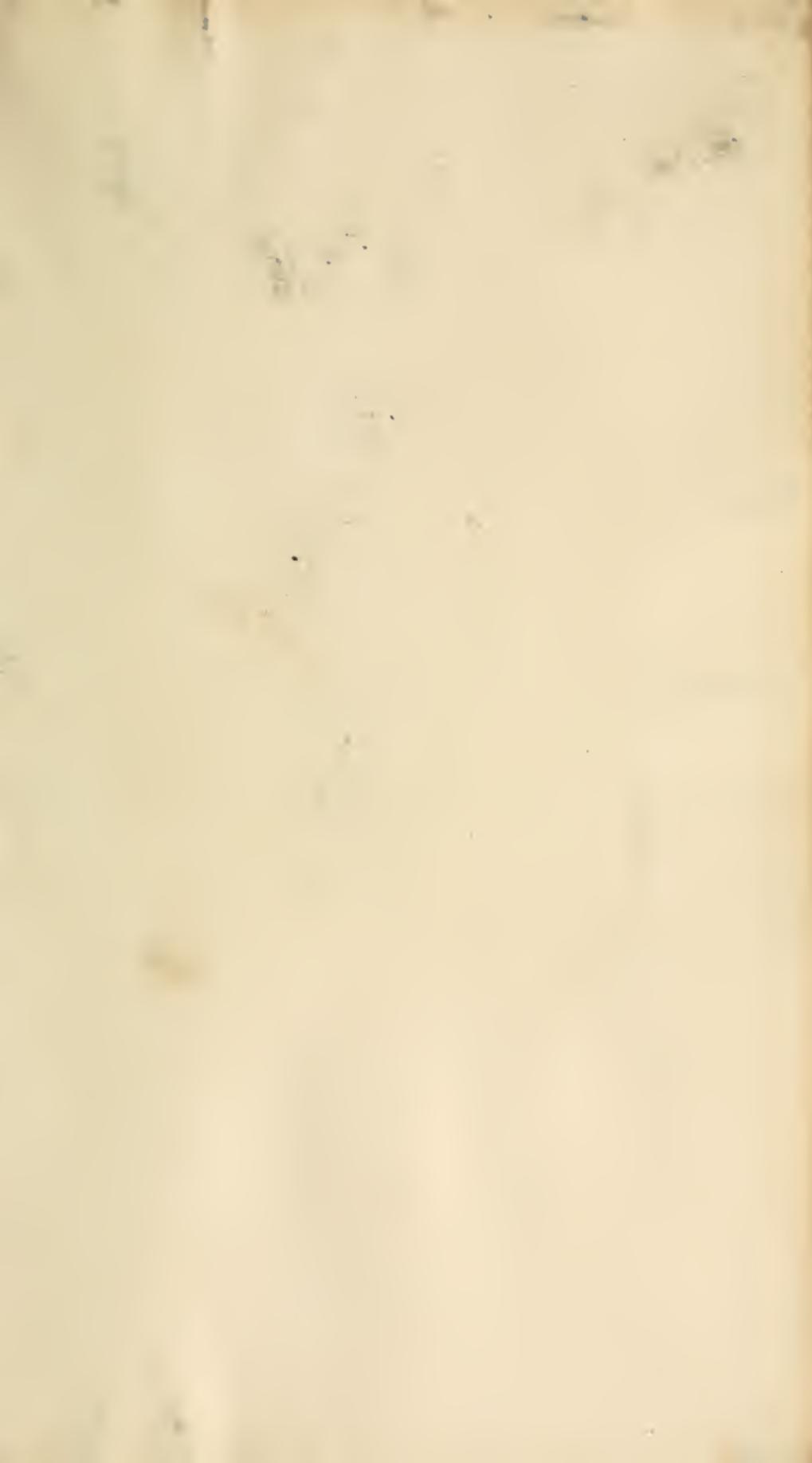
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